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Student 'Unrest' Continues at Tirana University

AU1112105990 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 11 (ATA)—Unrest continued in the Tirana University, on December 10. The majority of the students did not show up in the classes, instead they gathered in the center of dormitories in students' campus.

Our reporter was told that the aim of the gathering was to forward a request for a meeting with the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, to express to him their problems and troubles.

It was also learned that Comrade Ramiz Alia accepted their request to meet and discuss with a students' representation, recommending the others to attend regularly classes in the university. This fact was transmitted to them through the minister of education, Skender Gjinushi. The meeting was not held until December 10, because the students have not yet chosen their representatives.

Alia Chairs Meeting of Constitutional Commission

AU0912150690 Tirana ATA in English 0859 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 8 (ATA)—The special commission for the examination of the complements to the constitution of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania convened in one of the halls of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, under the presidency of its chairman, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

The commission discussed on the articles of the first chapter of the first part of the existing Constitution, which includes problems of the political order, the economic one and those linked with education, science and culture. Alongside the existing provisions which comply with the actual developments, the commission worked out draft-articles with regard to the complements that should be made to this Constitution, based on the decisions of the recent plenums of the party Central Committee and of the People's Assembly.

Likewise, the commission began work on the provisions having to do with the main rights and duties of the citizens.

People's Assembly Defines Constituencies

AU0912141890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Text] On the basis of Article 68 of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Article Nine of the Law on Elections to the People's Assembly, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decrees:

Constituencies have been defined as follows for the elections of deputies for the 12th legislature of the People's Assembly, to be held on 10 February 1991: 14 in Berat District; 12 in Diber District; 19 in Durres District; 19 in Elbasan District; 19 in Fier District; three in Gramsh District; six in Gjirokaster District; two in Kolonje District; 17 in Korce District; eight in Kruje District; eight in Kukes District; five in Lezhe District; five in Librazhd District; 11 in Lushnje District; six in Mat District; four in Mirdite District; three in Permet District; five in Pogradec District; four in Puke District; seven in Sarande District; four in Skrapar District; 19 in Shkoder District; four in Tepelene District; 29 in Tirana District; three in Tropoje District; 14 in Vlore District.

This decree comes into effect immediately.
Tirana, 1 December 1990.
Decree number: 7,435.

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:
[signed] Ramiz Alia, president; Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Judge Airs Views on Strengthening Rule of Law

AU1012200190 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Dec 90 p 2

[Article by Dr. Shefqet Muci, president of Tirana District Court: "Let Us Strengthen the Rule of Law"]

[Text] From ancient times down to the present day, philosophers, lawyers, and other political and academic personalities have dealt with and continue to deal with the question of the state and justice as a central political problem in a civilized society. In our article, we will dwell on the main features of the rule of law, which should also characterize our socialist state.

We consider a state governed by the rule of law to be a state which bases all its activities on laws drawn up and approved in a democratic way and which confines itself strictly to legality in all its aspects—i.e., it is a state which recognizes no authority besides the law in carrying out its functions. Bearing in mind the current demands of the democratic processes taking place in our country, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the 12th Central Committee plenum that the party, state organs, and the whole of public opinion have become aware of the need to place all their activities on a fully defined legal footing, with the aim of thoroughly strengthening the state governed by the rule of law. It is precisely on the basis of the law that the essence of this state relies. To define the essence, however, is not to explain the whole or to exhaust the complex range of important and complicated problems which go to constitute it. On the contrary, it shows the need to study these delicate problems and the ties and reciprocal relationships that the state's structure and activity create.

The state and justice are so intimately bound together that one cannot be understood without the other,

because they are born and grow in parallel under historical and social conditions conditioned by objective laws they hold in common. The state is the sole force that creates laws through its own organs, while legislation, on the other hand, constitutes the principal means whereby state policy is realized. This policy is dictated to everybody, all physical and legal individuals, civil servants, and state and social organs and organizations, through prescriptions formulated in judicial acts and norms. These legal prescriptions, whose character and content exert a major influence on social development, are also compulsory for their very author, the state.

One defining characteristic of a state is state power, which implies force or coercion. Everyone is required to bow to the will of state power. It is precisely this characteristic that distinguishes the state from associations and other social organizations. This characteristic makes it sovereign, in the sense that it gives it the right to intervene and regulate all spheres of social relations in the way which society's interests demand. This special position of the state—i.e., the state's sovereignty—makes the state all-powerful and independent of anybody in realizing its domestic and foreign policies. Of course, different situations, domestic circumstances, and the state of international affairs influence the regulation of these relations to one degree or another.

Seen from this point of view, our rule-of-law state does not admit the command of any political or social organization. No form of leadership or political organization, therefore, can dictate to the state by law, as an external force standing above it. Not even the leading role of the party can be maintained by orders and decrees. This role, as the party itself has made clear—especially in the recent party Central Committee materials—is acquired and maintained by work and militancy, and by the party's advanced program, ideas, and thinking which are reflected in the laws and all the state's activity. The opposite leads to the position of a totalitarian or absolutist state, in which state power is exerted by a single political party or is concentrated in the hands of a single individual.

The sanctioning of the role of the Albanian Workers Party as the single leading political force of the state and society in Article 3 of the Constitution has often led high state organs to confirm or approve in some of their principal legal acts things which party forums had previously approved or suggested.

A state governed by the rule of law implies the existence of full and comprehensive legislation covering all fields of its activity.

To carry out its vitally important functions for social development and progress, the state regulates by law the form of government and the organization of the social order which it accepts, the structure of and relationships among its organs, the rights and freedoms of citizens, etc. I think that every state of our time does this through its basic law, the Constitution, but this is not enough to claim that it thereby regulates itself on a legal basis, one of the demands of the rule of law. This is achieved when all the activities of its organs and institutions and the other organizations involved in the country's political and economic system are fully regulated on this basis and when the functions and attributes of each and the relations existing among them are defined.

A new law does not rise out of the void, but is a result of previous experience, relies on a specific basis, and aims to improve a current situation, to repair defects and errors, and to pave the way for development. Viewed from this angle, the present obliterates the past, and the future will obliterate the present, but what has been done toward social development remains. Laws have their life histories, closely tied to the history of our people and their need at different periods to overcome domestic and foreign difficulties through their work for social progress and the defense of freedom and independence. We advance by drawing up new laws better adapted to contemporary national and international developments. These laws are based on the legacy of the past and the experience that has been gained in the field of legislation—not only in the decades of the people's power, but earlier, as far back as the positive aspects of customary law, whose values dozens of foreign lawyers and Albanologists have studied.

The brilliant thinking of outstanding personalities of our nation has left us a valuable legacy—not only in culture, literature, and art, but in the field of jurisprudence and the state—which dates back at least 800 years to the formation of the state of Arberia, and continues through such personalities as Skenderbeg, Ali Pasha Tepelene, Abdyl and Sami Frasheri, Ismail Qemali, Shtjefen Gjecovi, Fan Noli, etc. To overlook the past of your country and your people, in whatever field, is to overlook yourself. When you appreciate the past properly and wisely, you create a sound basis to overcome current difficulties and to advance in confidence and security.

In considering the legislation of the past as an expression of the will of the overthrown classes and as feudal-bourgeois, we have often politicized the institutions of justice beyond acceptable bounds and have hesitated to avail ourselves of both its good sides and of world practice in this field of vital importance for the state and society, fearing to "copy" or "reconcile ourselves to" bourgeois viewpoints.

Starting from the axiom that there can be no rule of law or true democracy without comprehensive legislation, the People's Assembly, in further and constantly deepening the democratic processes in our country, has recently approved a series of laws governing social relations in different fields, such as the law "On the Ministry of Justice," "On Attorneys in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania," "On Social Courts," "On Elections to the People's Assembly," etc. Preparations for other important changes are also being made. Changes and adjustments to the Constitution also fall into this category. We have plenty of other shortcomings

in this field, however, including an absence of laws governing the management, functioning, and authorities of certain important institutions, including even some ministries, not to mention the operation of the new economic mechanism and the introduction of a private retail and communal services sector. Legal provisions are not merely failing to lead the way in these sectors at the proper time, they are even lagging behind in apathy and indifference, creating irregularities in production, fluctuations on the market, and worries among consumers. To solve these problems on time and in an up-to-date way, more work, debate, and self- motivation are, therefore, required on the part of all intellectuals and patriots, especially politicians, lawyers, and economists, in the belief that specialists are the most able people in their own fields.

The rule of law is unimaginable without democratic institutions. It implies an electoral system which will ensure a pluralism of political and social organizations of independent and equal status in the formation of the people's representative bodies.

It is well known that just and progressive laws are created by state bodies which are formed democratically and which represent and genuinely express the will of the people, involving intelligent and competent people chosen from all social groups and strata. The new law on elections to the People's Assembly carries out essential changes of a democratic nature in this field, refines our entire electoral system, both in extending the range of independent and equal subjects with the right to propose their own candidates for posts as People's Assembly deputies, and in expanding opportunities and guarantees for exercising this right. Thus, the formation and composition of the People's Assembly, to which independent individuals may also be elected as deputies, also ensures its pluralist operation as the highest representative and law-giving body deciding and determining the most important problems of domestic and foreign policy.

The pluralist formation and operation of the People's Assembly ensures a competition of talents, the presence of opposing views within the framework of the socialist alternative as the main motive power of constructive debate, the free expression of the opinions of every deputy, and, in consequence, the most appropriate legal solutions and the approval of laws which will be useful to the people and the homeland. The pluralist composition of the People's Assembly, with distinguished people who are able in the field of politics and legislation, will strengthen socialist legality and the structure and operation of our state.

The rule of law exists where basic human rights and freedoms are sanctioned and respected regardless of nationality, race, sex, language, or creed, also in accordance with the principles of international law. Where there is the violation of individual rights, subjectivism, arbitrariness, and illegality, there is no law-governed order or state, or democracy. A state is democratic when its legislation sanctions and assists social emancipation and creates conditions and guarantees for the growth and affirmation of the human personality.

In this way, a state governed by the rule of law, apart from possessing full and comprehensive legislation in all fields, also demands rigorous and strict respect of legislation from everybody equally, without bias or concessions—from state, economic, and social organs, civil servants at all levels, and citizens. In our case, therefore, legality is standardized, because it is based on identical laws enforced identically by everyone and toward everyone throughout the territory of the Republic. "The law," Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the 12th party Central Committee plenum, "is above everyone. There can be no instructions, decisions, orders, or authorities above the law," which means that the law, as an expression of the will of the people, is the highest authority in the state and knows no favor and no distinction between individuals, officials, or state bodies. King Louis XIV's dictum, "L'etat, c'est moi," is alien to the rule of law. This is not a matter of making a fetish of the law, because the law may be changed when the interests of society demand it, but of being governed by and obeying the will of the people. The law is understood and enforced correctly and voluntarily by people with a full legal awareness and with a clear conception of justice, democracy, and their rights and obligations toward each other and society. Distorted or narrow conceptions of the law damage legality and weaken the law-governed state. Violations of the law by cadres or functionaries, on the pretext that they are supposedly protecting the general interest, have harmful consequences, because it is the law that regulates and protects the relations between this interest and the individual. The first principle is that society is well-protected when the rights and freedoms of its members are protected, because the law acts and is enforced in each case in relation to specific persons, whether individuals or legal bodies, not in relation to society as a community of people. Any solution to a problem or misunderstanding on the excuse that "The basic organization has decided," "The collective has decided," or "We solved it as a village," when not based on the law or in violation of the law, is a mistaken solution which is unacceptable to the state and society. The involvement of the thinking of the masses in the government of the country, as a necessary demand of socialist democracy, aims at the correct enforcement of the law, and not its contravention, because the law expresses and defends the interests of the entire Albanian people and not those of a few collectives. When the party tells cooperativists to solve at a village level the problems of the collective herds and the small herds, this implies an unbiased and just solution, always according to the law. No one has the right to usurp a judge's office, as did certain Tirana citizens who spontaneously, without the authorization of the competent body, moved into some apartments built with voluntary assistance, taking the view that they had helped build them and they had not been turned over to the housing authority.

The level of legal knowledge, whose spread among the people remains a permanent task of state bodies and social organizations, plays a major role in the creation of a legal awareness among citizens, leading to voluntary observance of the laws.

The law-governed state functions normally when social activity is carried out solely by its authorized bodies. "Our society," Comrade Ramiz Alia says, "must fully respect the exclusive rights and competences which the law gives to managing bodies." Every body, whether elected or appointed, has its own rights and duties which it can neither exceed nor take from or delegate to others. The usurpation of one state organ's authority by another, especially by an administrative body at the expense of an elected body which represents the people, violates socialist legality, leaves room for erroneous solutions to issues, creates irregularity, and saps the strength of the rule of law. It is not merely a question of a people's council's authorities being usurped by its executive committee, a matter which the party has continually criticized, but of higher state bodies.

Let us not confine ourselves to the level of "brigade leaders," as people say in private conversations, thinking of state and administrative bodies at district level, but let us aim higher, so that we can really dot the "i"s regarding respect for the law—especially on the part of the those organs that have created them—because when these high-level organs violate them, the harm done to the state and people is all the greater, particularly when these authorities are exceeded in the issue of standard legal decisions. For example, under Article 67 of the Constitution, amnesties are the exclusive right of the People's Assembly, but the People's Assembly has not exercised this right. De facto, its Presidium has exercised this authority with extensive pardons.

The rule of law implies the existence of a network of organs to control and assess the legitimacy of legal acts and regulations produced by organs of the state and the administration. Their authorities extend as far as the revocation or annulment of these acts when they run counter to the Constitution.

Which organ, however, will control, point out, or declare the invalidity of anticonstitutional acts? According to Article 107 of the Constitution, it is the Procurator General who has the right to present to the People's Assembly and its Presidium cases in which laws run counter to the Constitution, and to point out to the Council of Ministers cases in which its decisions and instructions are against the law. Meanwhile, the right to annul these decisions lies with the very same organ that produced them. I think that the interests of the state and society would be better served if the examination of the legitimacy of legal acts were to be carried out by a special, impartial, and specialized body, independent of the organs of the state administration, such as the court. Under the conditions of our country, I think that the Supreme Court could also very well assume by law the functions of a constitutional court.

Consultations on Forming New Government Continue

AU1012195890 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will take part in the new cabinet only if the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] gives up the ministry of the interior to the opposition, representatives of the oppositional SDS, who took part in today's consultations with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, said.

The parliament entrusted Mr. Dimitur Popov with the formation of the new government on December 7. He was given a week to propose the new cabinet to the parliament. Simultaneously with the consultations made by Mr. Popov the talks between representatives of the main political forces in parliament on the elaboration of a political agreement are also continuing. In the past three days Mr. Popov has had more than 20 meetings with representatives of the BSP and the SDS, with intellectuals and with people of the business circles. He thinks that he will be ready with the composition of the new government by Wednesday [12 December]. So far the only name which Mr. Popov has mentioned is that of the economist Prof. Todor Vulchev.

On Saturday [8 December] the BSP proposed that the new cabinet has three deputy chairmen one from the BSP, one from the SDS and one from the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. The Socialists are inclined to give up to the SDS the Ministry of Defense, the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of the Economy, preserving the ministries of the interior, of finance and of justice.

After the two-day conference of the SDS in Plovdiv it became clear that the opposition will cooperate with the new government if it is made up of experts without the participation of party leaders. Today the leaders of the opposition were categorical that representatives of the SDS will enter the new cabinet only if the Ministry of the Interior is headed by an expert of the SDS.

Student Strikes Continue; Demands Said Justified

Spokesman Urges End to Sofia Sit-In

AU1012182090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Statement by presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov, concerning ongoing student strikes, in Sofia on 10 December—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the continuing strike of the Sofia St. Kliment Okhridski University and other higher educational institutions in the country, I am responsible for making the following statement:

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, confirms that the demands of the students are justified and commits himself to contributing to the solution of their problems on the basis of the recent agreement of political forces. Expressing his confidence in the students' political maturity and common sense, the president appeals to the students urging them to end their strike.

Zhelev Receives Striking Students

AU1012201490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Student strikes continue throughout the country.

This morning, however, a demonstration of students who did not join the strike took place at the Sofia University. There was a danger of clashes, but fortunately, the students on both sides manifested their mutual tolerance.

In the early afternoon a general students' meeting was held at university hall No. 65, which was attended by both groups—both striking and non-striking students. The striking students reaffirmed their firm intention to insist on their request that the political forces should commit themselves to incorporating the students' demands in their parliamentary agreement.

This afternoon President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev was also involved in the students' disputes. He subsequently received representatives of the Students for Democracy Movement and representatives of the National Students' Strike Committee. The president committed himself to use his influence with the Political Consultative Council so that representatives of the Students' Strike Committee may participate as observers in the drafting and signing of an agreement guaranteeing the development of normal democratic (?development) in the country.

Minister Defends Militia Actions During Strike

AU1012092590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Statement by Interior Minister Pencho Penev issued to BTA; place and date not given]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)—During the last few days a number of statements have appeared in the mass media concerning my own conduct and the conduct of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the past week. In this connection, I make the following statement:

First, concerning the briefing I gave on Bulgarian Television on 26 November regarding the start of the strike declared by the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation. The data for the country were provided by the regional directorates in the course of that afternoon, and their processing was completed at 1700 [1500 GMT]. The recording for Bulgarian Television was made at 1830, and it was broadcast at 2030. This very important fact fell outside the scope of the briefing, and for this reason it was not understood by some of the television viewers.

I cannot accept the reproach that it was not the interior minister's job to follow the course of the strike, including its scale, especially when the strike had been declared to

be illegal, according to the initial position of the Chief Prosecutor's Office. Any declared general strike is an internal matter within a state. It is not isolated from other phenomena and processes, especially the issues of maintaining public order and calm, which the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are duty bound to monitor and ensure.

Second, regarding the actions of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I maintain and can prove that these actions were within the framework of the law. These actions were also in conformance with the appeal made by the president of the Republic on 27 November not to permit public manifestations not conforming to the Law on Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations. In the same declaration, the president expressed "alarm at violation of public order—interruption of transport communications and blocking of crossroads." These actions were described as having nothing in common with democracy and legality.

It is true that, when restoring order at some road junctions, the organs were obliged to use force within the limits of the means prescribed by the law. The commentaries on these actions focused on the incident of the beating of two students. Only passing mention was made of the beating up by the first student of a militia officer, who received an injury and was also admitted to the Pirogov Hospital. It has not been established that any physical means were applied by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs against the two students in any other place apart from the location where they displayed insolent disobedience.

The attitude of certain circles to me as an individual is not of crucial importance to me. I am far from indifferent, however, toward the attitude to the system headed by me, because this concerns a question of the principle upon which an important state institution must be built under conditions of the democratization of our society. It is my profound conviction that this principle must be that of the supremacy of the law. It cannot be replaced by anything else. In most cases, the actions of the militia were interpreted and commented on from the viewpoint of a certain political expediency. Political expediency always serves certain political forces and aims. If the law-and-order organs are guided by this, it would totally contradict the very idea of these organs standing above party interests.

In the incident in question, the militia's actions were guided solely by the principles of conformance with the law, as a result of which confusion and division were prevented, despite the different assessments by individual political forces of the militia's conduct during the strike and the breaches of law and order which accompanied it.

This is also my viewpoint in connection with the declaration of the independent professional organizations of the employees of the militia in Bulgaria, with whose statements I totally agree.

DUMA Criticizes Zhelev's Assembly Address

AU1012173090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] We will once more be accused of contradicting the president, but we are a newspaper, after all. We hope that the president himself will understand that we are not trying to practice petty criticism against him, but that we are speaking from the point of view of our basic principles.

Yesterday, Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev stated from the rostrum of the Grand National Assembly to all Bulgarian people that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has no future and that not individual public figures affiliated with this party, but the party itself is stepping down from the political scene. These were not exactly his words, but their meaning was clear. The president made this statement in addressing the Grand National Assembly the majority of whose members belong to the BSP and in speaking to the the citizens of Bulgaria half of whom voted for the reds. In any other country such a statement would provoke a storm of political indignation, because this was not a casually dropped remark, but a premeditated political statement. It would have been the most natural thing in the world for the BSP parliamentary group to leave the hall, but once again our deputies preferred good manners to open confrontation. We do not know whether the president realized the blunder he committed, but one thing is certain: He has not yet learned the lesson of supra-party tolerance as the present circumstances require.

Unfortunately Mr. Zhelev committed a few more mistakes in his speech. He seems to live still with the delusion that he is standing above the Grand National Assembly and is entitled to determine the timetable of parliamentary's its work, and not only the timetable, but also the Assembly's legislative initiatives. The president's argument of basing himself on a political agreement is not sufficient in this case. Not only the interests of one political force, but the interests of all those who are representing the nation in parliament are involved. We are convinced that the high-ranking figure in question [meaning Zhelev] has not yet learned the details of his specific presidential rights, as a result of which he frequently destroys the people's frail confidence in him. It is high time that the presidential rights be restricted to the framework of the Constitution.

Enormous difficulties are facing the forthcoming government and it would be a tragedy if the president fails to assert his own prestige in parliament. This is so because the new government's chance of success can only be guaranteed by a highly qualified and politically correct assistance on part of the president and on part of the National Assembly. It is no coincidence that Mr. Popov, the new prime minister did not answer the question whether he shares Mr. Zhelev's opinion about the impending doom of the BSP. How could the gentleman answer, when he sees with his own eyes that the majority

of parliament seats are occupied by BSP members? We would not like to comment on the awkward position in which the new premier was placed, but we very much hope that he did not miss the hint he received in the presence of the entire Grand National Assembly.

The current political situation in our country is so complicated that all forces should be most careful in using their preregatives on the great political scene. This applies in particular to the president and to his office which cannot afford to make mistakes.

DUMA Warns Against Witch-Hunt of Informers

AU1012150390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] The decision of the Grand National Assembly to review the deputies' files is backed by a great moral and political force. Let us hope that this act will illuminate the civic behavior of those individuals, sent by the people as their representatives in the parliament. Until now this decision used to be underestimated and attempts were even made to bury it in the general parliamentary confusion. After Petur Beron's case, however, this decision became more than necessary. No one could any longer hide behind general political platforms and positions. The collective oaths of adherence to democracy must be personally proven and defended.

Attempts were made from the rostrum of the Grand National Assembly to belittle the dishonest activity of the informers and it was hinted that at one time or another, while serving in official capacities, every citizen has served certain security organs. It is not this "capacity" that we have in mind. We specifically mean those ladies and gentlemen, who for years used to service various departments of State Security, as voluntary collaborators with their secret code name and even with a safe apartment. The fear, therefore, should not engulf all and develop into psychosis. The informers have specific service files, which have nothing to do with official reports of the kind mentioned by Mr. Beron in his explanations. The code name this gentleman had testifies to the fact that his relations with State Security were not accidental and innocent.

Naturally, the issue of informers does not end with the parliamentarian investigation. It has a much larger social dimension. It is not accidental that rumors and code names, related to specific and rather famous persons, circulate among the intelligentsia. For example, the code name "Dimitur" has long been the subjects of gossip, something that introduces confusion and irritation in certain circles. It would be very beneficial if such rumors were to be proven or denied. Our society needs confidence, rather than suspicion and absurd fabrications.

The submission of the files to the Grand National Assembly should by no means become a "witch-hunt." Bulgaria does not need the infamous shadow of McCarthyism. In this context the Editorial Board supports the proposal of its chief editor, who demanded that every deputy personally make a statement on his civic behavior during the years of totalitarianism, before the files are submitted to the parliament. If this is done many misunderstandings and suspicions will be preliminarily eliminated.

The issue of the files poses a serious moral test to our parliament and society. Each of us must withstand this test with dignity. Otherwise we all are in for hard times!

SDS Resolution on Alleged KGB Activities

AU1012113190 Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Dec (BTA)—The oppositional Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] insists on the clarification of the role of the Soviet State Security Committee in the recent scandals around the files of the oppositional leaders.

In a special resolution adopted at the national conference of the opposition held in Plovdiv, the UDF demands on the revealing of the role of the collaborators of the KGB in Bulgaria in the past and at present.

The informers are victims of the people who recruited them who are continuing to torture them, Yordan Vasilev, MP, stressed today.

The document of the conference of the opposition demands that the names of the informers in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] are also made public. According to instructions, of which the parliamentary inquiries commission learnt these days, the directions of the Ministry of the Interior were not to recruit members of the Communist Party. New disclosures are to be made. The ex-leader of the UDF Mr. Petur Beron has been affected so far but suspicions have been [word indistinct] on the leader of Podkrepa Dr. Konstantin Trenchev and hints are being made about the TV journalist Mr. Kevork Kevorkyan and this is keeping many people in fear.

Mr. Georgi Avramov of the UDF levelled serious accusations at the leadership of the parliamentary commission working on the files because so far it has not decided exactly what to do with the discrediting materials. The commission cannot declare itself to be a court of justice or a moral judge. If the files are handled inadvertently this may lead to suicides and unforeseeable social processes, Mr. Avramov believes. He plans to raise this question in parliament once again and expresses his believe that it is not for a quickly formed parliamentary commission to deal with the informers' scandal.

Beron Denies Collaboration With Political Police

AU1012191490 Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA)—The former leader of the opposition, Mr. Petur Beron, wants the leader of the Podkrepa Trade Unions, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev to reveal the highly placed source from which he had obtained the materials discrediting Beron as an informer of the secret services.

Last week Mr. Beron withdrew from his leading post in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] as Dr. Konstantin Trenchev stated that he had documents incriminating Mr. Beron as an informer of the secret services.

I have made reports to the state security but this was for the sake of national security, the former SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] leader, Mr. Petur Beron, told journalists today. He categorically denied any collaboration with the "political police"—the former Department Six of the state security, and refuted the allegations published these days in the Moscow daily "PRAVDA" by its Sofia correspondent.

Mr. Petur Beron insists on the opening of his file at the state security in order to prove that he has not harmed any Bulgarian or foreigner. He repeatedly stressed today that he had in no way availed himself of the collaboration with the secret services. Mr. Beron asserts that no pressure had been exerted on him for the reports to the state security. As a leader of the opposition he has not been blackmailed by the services, he told a BTA reporter.

The oppositional M.P. Mr. Stefan Gaytandzhiev expressed before journalists today his hypothesis that the "Beron case" is a provocation of the Soviet KGB and not of the Bulgarian state security. A resolution, adopted last night by the national conference of the opposition, insists that the role of the Soviet State Security Committee and of its informers on this case be revealed. Mr. Gaytandzhiev supports the thesis that the Bulgarian intelligence and counter intelligence worked in complete subordination to the KGB. The Parliamentary Commission on National Security (Mr. Gaytandzhiev is its member) has been assured by the Vice President and former Minister of the Interior, Mr. Atanas Semerdzhiev, and by the present Minister, Mr. Pencho Penev, that these contacts have been discontinued. But Mr. Gaytandzhiev believes that the "Beron case" is an attempt to discredit not only the opposition but also the members of the intelligence service, to destroy the Bulgarian intelligence system. This is only my hypothesis, Mr. Gaytandzhiev said.

TU Head Petkov Confirms Stand on Social Reform

AU1012151890 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA)—The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, confirmed it stands for social reform but at a reasonable price.

Prof. Krustyu Petkov, leader of the Independent Trade Unions, told a press conference in Sofia that he is aware of the problems his organization will have to face, connected with the changes both in society and in human thinking. According to him the membership of the trade unions is likely to fall by 1 million people (the present membership is believed to be about 3 million people). Prof. Krustev went on to say that the trade unions will also experience leadership shuffles and rejuvenation as well as changes in their character.

The chairman of the confederation, who is a sociologist, said he had recently been surprised by the "bolshevism" of the average Bulgarian, which he considers as one of the main reasons for the difficult transition to market economy.

The trade unions will give the new government a chance within 5-6 months to carry out the economic reforms. According to Mr. Krustyu Krustev the problems will most probably be created by extremist UDF [Union of Democratic Forces] and BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] members who seem ready to stir up trouble at any moment.

The participants in the conference defended the trade unions' initiatives as an effort to promote a stable and effective government and parliament.

The trade unionists also pointed out they would not succumb to the general tendency towards escalating the tension in the country.

Drop in Production Reported Betwen Jan, Nov

AU1012211390 Sofia BTA in English 2004 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Boyko Borisov report]

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA)—In the January-November, 1990 period production in Bulgaria dropped by 10.4 per cent. This country's export amounts to 7 billion and 907 million leva of which 941 million are "foreign currency leva in direction two" as the economic slang of the planned economy terms the transactions realized in convertible currency. Bulgaria's export has decreased by about three billion leva in comparison with last year. The export drop in the dollar "second direction" is "only" 278 million foreign currency leva. These data are included in an official announcement of the Central Statistical Department for the past 11 months of the year handed in for publication here.

The chaos accompanying the death throes of the semi-disintegrated Council of Mutual Economic Assistance is the main factor for the "dive" of the Bulgarian economy. This is revealed by the fact that 65 percent of the production drop has been brought about 14 "super monopolies"—sluggish giants providing the economy with raw materials, materials and machines, typical of the planned economy. Mechanical engineering, the

metal working industry, the chemical and the oil processing industries account for 67.2 percent of the total drop. Due to the insufficient raw material supply (including oil, which is in very short supply in Bulgaria hit by the Persian Gulf crisis and by disorders in the deliveries from the Soviet Union) they have failed to produce goods to the tune of 4.3 billion leva.

Ferrous metallurgy and the food industry account for 13 percent of the drop.

The light industry is faring comparatively well in the conditions of the crisis. In the textile, tailoring, glass working, the china-faience and the printing and publishing industries the situation is either the same or better than last year. This is probably due to the fact that joint production with Western companies, mainly on the basis of technologies and know-how for Bulgaria against Bulgarian export for the West has been carried out on a particularly wide scale in the light industry in the past few years in comparison with the other branches. Licence-made sports footwear and clothes are well received in some European countries.

But not in Bulgaria. They cannot be found here. "The supply of the population with children's clothes, knitwear, socks, tights, footwear, heating appliances, stoves, matches, electric water heaters, lightening fixtures and other goods has deteriorated" the Central Statistics Department observes.

In the May-November period there has been a 36 percent rise in prices.

Maybe most indicative of the blow which is already being felt by the consumers (before starting of the official price reform) is the rise in the prices of fruit and vegetables. Thus, for instance, the price of potatoes has reached 200 percent of their price last November, the same refers to the prices of fresh vegetables, the prices of fresh fruit have increased by 182 percent.

Statistics does not analyze the activities of the state organizations in the agricultural sector, a large part of which no longer exist. But the results are indicative—a drop (in comparison with last year) in the production of grain crops to the tune of one million and 700 thousand tons, of sunflower by 90 thousand tons, of sugar beet by 400 thousand tons. There have been produced 4 million and 181 thousand tons of silage maize—2 million tons less than last year.

Here it would be of interest to follow the development of tobacco growing—a steady "item" of Bulgaria's convertible currency incomes. While in the 1985-1989 period there were grown an average of about 116 thousand tons of tobacco a year, in 1989 this production dropped to 81 thousand tons—probably due to emigration of Bulgarian Muslims to Turkey.

This year tobacco growing dropped by another 10 thousand tons and amounted to 71 thousand tons, by preliminary estimations which are not final because the harvest has not been gathered yet.

Despite the relatively favorable climatic conditions this year, of the 25 basic agricultural products only the output of pepper has marked an increase—with 5 thousand tons and of strawberries with one thousand tons...

The problems in stock breeding, the chief among them being the lack of fodder and unreallistically low purchase prices—have had their say in the drop of the purchased animals and poultry of about 40,000 tons, of eggs—77 million and of milk—10 million liters.

The needs of the farmers are related to the agrarian reform—even the sole fact that the areas sown with wheat and barley this year exceeded the areas sown with these crops last year by 260 thousand hectares is indicative of this.

Kuwaiti People's Congress Continues Visit

AU1012170890 Sofia BTA in English 1323 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Dec (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev today received a delegation of the National Assembly of Kuwait led by Mr. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ghunim, minister of public works and member of parliament.

Bulgaria insists on the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty through political means, the Bulgarian president underlined. He stated that Bulgaria's position as to Iraqi's aggression of Kuwait is a principled one and that it is not prompted by short term considerations.

The Kuwaiti side expressed gratitude for Bulgaria's position and assessed positively the message sent recently by President Zhelev to the Amir of Kuwait.

The two sides are convinced that their cooperation can be further developed.

This morning the Kuwaiti delegation had talks with Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs. Views were exchanged as to the two countries' cooperation in all fields and especially on their economic relations which are of great importance for Bulgaria. The Kuwaiti side expressed readiness to render assistance, thus helping Bulgaria to overcome the negative consequences of the gulf crisis. There are possibilities for expanding contacts in the petroleum industry, tourism, agriculture and setting up joint ventures.

Republican Presidiums Examine Power Sharing Bill

LD0612225790 Prague CTK in English 2154 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—Extended presidiums of the Czech and Slovak Governments, led by Prime Ministers Petr Pithart and Vladimir Meciar respectively, met here today to discuss issues concerning the bill on power sharing between the federal and republic bodies, to be debated in the federal parliament next week.

The participants later called on Federal Assembly (parliament) chairman Alexander Dubcek for what parliamentary sources described as an informal and unexpected meeting.

Slovakia's First Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky told CTK that the two sides exchanged information about the current state of discussions of the bill. Asked whether the federation was threatened, Carnogursky answered that the sides agreed not to give any information to the press, adding that no decisions had been made. Vladimir Meciar declined to answer questions as to the contents of the meeting with Alexander Dubcek.

Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak told newsmen that there were four or six controversial points.

Petr Pithart summed up today's meeting by saying that realizing the gravity of the situation that has arisen in debating the bill on power sharing, the two governments openly discussed all alternative solutions and the final decision will be made by the Czechoslovak parliament.

Havel Outlines Proposals To Solve Crisis

LD1012124790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1010 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at Federal Assembly session in Prague—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, esteemed Federal Assembly, ladies and gentlemen: If I am presenting myself in front of you without letting you know and without doing so well in advance, it is only because I am well aware of how serious this moment is and what responsibility you have.

It is because I arrived at the conclusion that our young democracy as well as the very existence of our state are beginning to be endangered and that our independence and freedom acquired not long ago are undergoing the most difficult trial so far.

This time the threat to our state is not coming from the outside as it was so many times in the past but from the inside. We are putting it in danger ourselves by our lack of political standards, lack of democratic awareness and mutual understanding. It is being endangered by our own inexperience and our own bad characteristics.

I mount this platform, as you see, because I am worried for the future of our country and because of the obligation arising from the oath I gave to you.

All of you certainly know what I am speaking about—you are facing the task to discuss a constitutional law which newly defines the authority of our two republics and federation, respectively their executive powers. I do not know if—and in which form—you are going to adopt this law.

Whatever is the outcome, one thing is clear: As the supreme legislative body of our federative state, elected in free elections and therefore representing all our citizens, you have the inalienable right to decide freely, in accordance with your conscience and the will of your electorate.

What is also clear is that whatever your decision will be, it will be binding for all the bodies, institutions, and citizens of this country; therefore, this is not a problem. The problem is something else: The problem is that some Slovak politicians but above all the prime minister of the Slovak Government made clearly plain during the last few days that if you do not adopt the law in question in the form put forward to you by the Slovak National Council then there is a danger that the Slovak National Council will declare the superiority of its laws over the laws of the Federal Assembly.

My task today is not to analyze the motives for such a stance and assess this stance politically. My task and my obligation is to think about the consequences that such a development would bring and about the possible ways to prevent these unfortunate consequences or how to tackle them.

What would be the impact if one or the other National Council really declares such superiority of its laws? Above all it would clearly be in breach of the existing Constitution. Such a breach would mean the final breaking of the ice-thin surface of our present constitutional set-up and as a result our state would necessarily plunge into total legal chaos.

You, as the supreme and fully legitimate body of our federation, I as its president elected by you, and the Federal Government which received your confidence, would have to announce the stance of the supreme and also fully legitimate bodies of one of the republics as anticonstitutional. At the same time, it would cast fundamental doubts not only on our authority, but at the very reasons for the existence of our posts. This kind of confrontational situation would constitute a de facto dissipation of the present constitutional set up of our republic, and its consequences would represent a beginning of the dissolution of Czechoslovakia as a state.

It is obvious what this dissolution would bring to the citizens, whose interests all of us promised to defend. First, our state would cease to exist as a subject of international law and a result of World War I recognized by the world community. Its international recognition

would collapse and with this, all guarantees of the inviolability of its borders would also collapse. Hundreds of international treaties which link it with the outside world would collapse. Its diplomatic relations with other countries would break down and an enormously complicated question of its succession, or its hereditary rights, so to speak, would arise. What hope would there be for the survival in the region of the two new states, not embedded in the international treaties system and collapsing economically, which would find the quest for its new stability so difficult and under the threat of an influx of hundreds of thousands of homeless people from the East? I think it would be very slim.

Second, we would be the first state in postwar Europe, which has dissolved or cease to exist, which would very seriously damage—in particular when we take into consideration our central geographical location—the peace structure of Europe, which has been built with difficulty for many years. It would quite undoubtedly put a brake on all political, economic, and security attempts at integration of an all-European nature. It would put an end to various disarmament talks and discourage Western interest in Central and East European countries, which would be regarded not only as an untrustworthy partner, but also as an inscrutable and therefore unsafe partner.

Third, the domestic interconnection between our two economies, the unavoidability of a radical economic reform, and the need for foreign financial and economic assistance would fall into a deep economic and social crisis, if not a total economic collapse. For many years we would find ourselves experiencing a permanent economic disruption accompanied by permanent social upheavals, which would mean not only the end to hopes for economic prosperity, but also most likely the end of democracy both in Czech lands and in Slovakia.

If we allow all this to happen, we will be recorded in our people's history as the first generation, which, not exposed to any unfavorable external pressure, will have brought boundless and lasting suffering upon our peoples. I dare claim that future generations will curse us and the world community will label us as fools.

Esteemed deputies, our first president wrote that states are sustained only through the ideals which brought them to into being. This applies also to our young, fragile, and inexperienced democracy. This applies also to the state we have been trying to build already for a year.

A year ago we joined forces to rise against the oppression of the totalitarian regime under the spirit of nonviolence, tolerance, understanding, and sacrifice for the common cause. We committed ourselves to the ideals of freedom, democracy, state independence, and national identity. We were led by the idea of human and civic rights.

One Slovak friend of mine composed a song—We promised to love each other—and all of us joined him in singing it. We wished to jointly right all the wrongdoings of the past which were committed against both our nations. We wanted to join forces—the Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Poles, Romanies, Germans, as well as members of all the other minorities who are citizens of our state—to finally begin building a state which is truly human, building a real and viable federation.

The condition of our state as it appears today—10 December 1990—on the International Day of Human Rights, does not reflect many of the ideals of the past year. We can easily find ourselves on the brink of a constitutional crisis, among other things, because many of us are forgetting the original ideals or fail to be guided by them.

Some students recently called our revolution a stolen revolution. I do not really understand this name because I do not know who stole this revolution from whom.

I think we face a somewhat different threat—the danger that the future generations will call our revolution a wasted revolution.

I, therefore, appeal to all my fellow citizens today to try to avert this threat. My appeal to them is prompted by the fact that the results of public opinion polls and all other information I have, unequivocally show that the overwhelming majority of our citizens wish to preserve the federation and view the tackling of the problems linked with economic reform as being far more important than the disputes over the division of power. Seventy percent of Slovak Republic citizens and 74 percent of Czech Republic citizens agree with the statement: The attempts to divide the state constitute a high-powered play of politicians and do not reflect the interests of ordinary people. [applause]

We still have a chance. Therefore let's take this chance! What can be done at this end by you, the Federal Assembly deputies? I am taking the liberty of proposing to you several very swift and radical measures, which will be aimed at one and only one goal: To create on the very unstable basis of our present and altogether temporary constitutional set-up several basic and altogether temporary legal levers which will make it possible to eliminate the developing stalemates and insoluble situations in a relatively democratic way.

These are my proposals. First, I propose to you to immediately establish by a relevant law a Constitutional Court, which should be written in the Constitution and which should be able to solve various constitutional crises that may develop. [applause]

Second, I propose to you to adopt a constitutional bill on referendum as an institution capable of establishing the true will of the populace, in case of insoluble disputes between various political bodies. [applause] This will, expressed in the referendum, should be a supreme, decisive, and unconditionally binding legal authority for all. I handed the drafts of these two bills to the Federal Assembly chairman this morning. I also asked the federal

deputy prime minister responsible for the drafting of legal codes to explain these bills.

The only thing I can add on this topic is this: None of us doubt that we are threatened with a constitutional crisis. However, we have at our disposal practically no constitutional means for handling this kind of crisis. One can say that our hands are empty. The defense law clause on the use of the Army to defend the Constitution does not appear to us as a fair method. The submitted proposals represent not only the way to tackle our crises in a constitutional way, but also a means toward expanding democracy by the direct participation of citizens in political decisionmaking. In addition, the Constitutional Court will make it possible to tackle absolutely unnecessary disputes over division of power by legal means rather than through political conflicts. [applause]

At the same time my feeling grows stronger and stronger that for the immediate future, even these measures may prove to be insufficient.

I believe strongly that you have come to know me enough over the last year that you do not need to suspect that I am dreaming of increasing my personal power. For a long time I even believed that the powers of the president of the Republic should be reduced by the future Constitution.

Nevertheless, the events of the last few weeks and days, as well as a legal analysis of the totally unstable constitutional terrain with so many holes which I already spoke about and on the basis of which we are acting at present, have convinced me that it will be unlikely that I will be able to fulfill my presidential oath and care for the welfare of all our citizens unless my powers during this transitional period are strengthened.

To be put before you in the next few days is a draft of a law which will, in the period before the adoption of the new federal Constitution, widen the powers of the president of the Republic in precisely the defined areas and in observance with all the fundamental principles of a constitution and democracy.

I am very sorry that I was forced to this realization, but as a man who promised to tell the truth, I am obliged to inform you of what I have come to realize. I am also doing so to fulfill the expectation of the millions of citizens on whose behalf you appointed me to my post and who, as I keep finding out, believe that I will contribute toward the salvation of our federative state.

I think that you should discuss the two aforementioned laws without delay. I am aware of the fact that such a course of action will mean a brutal attack on the presently valid order of procedures and a gross violation of all of the established practices for adopting laws.

Nevertheless, I am convinced that this will be an evil immensively smaller than the one which could emerge if the will of our representative bodies part ways without there being a possibility of a constitutional solution to such a conflict.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will not probably be far from the truth if I reveal my conviction that neither you nor I had the slightest idea how complicated and paradoxical the situation facing us would be in the posts we accepted.

I propose to you in this extreme and perhaps historic moment to attempt what I have already several times attempted: to devote a few minutes to thinking about your responsibility and then look kindly at each other and shake hands with a smile as is the habit during Holy Mass.

Thank you for your attention.

Havel's Spokesman Views Constitutional Crisis

LD1012161490 Prague CTK in English 1459 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel is of the opinion that a break-up of the Czechoslovak federal state, "whether at the Czech or the Slovak initiative, would be a catastrophe both for the Czechs and the Slovaks," presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky said here today.

Commenting on the present political crisis in Czechoslovakia he said that it arose after Slovak politicians announced last week they would declare the superiority of Slovak laws over those of the federation in case the bill on the division of powers between the Czechoslovak federation and the Czech and Slovak Republics is not approved by the Federal Assembly (parliament) this week in the form agreed by the three governments' representatives in Prague. Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar criticized Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Federal Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus and Minister Chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment Josef Vavrousek that they defend insufficiently Slovakia's interest in the Federal Government.

Referring to Havel's speech on the problem of the powers in the Federal Assembly today, he said that Havel watched the development of the situation. At a point when personal attacks and hints of pressure on the freely elected Federal Assembly appeared he thought the situation was so grave that he decided to address the parliament.

Havel said on radio yesterday that if the situation requires it he will not go to Spain and Portugal but that this would, however, harm Czechoslovakia's international prestige. "He will, of course, consider the whole situation yet today," Zantovsky said, in reference to Havel's visit to Spain on December 11-12 and to Portugal on December 13-14 and to the present crisis at home.

Deputy Prime Minister Views Havel Proposals

LD1012232690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] A CTK correspondent has spoken with Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky about the proposals President Vaclav Havel made in the Federal Assembly.

According to Rychetsky, these proposals foresee the widening of democratic rules. A constitutional court should guarantee the implementation of the principle that the constitutional laws prevail over others, and that the laws prevail over norms of a lower legal power.

In addition to the basic functions of a constitutional court—that is, settling disputes over power-sharing and general adherence to the Constitution—the president's proposal expects a citizen's rights to appeal to the constitutional court to protect a violated right or liberty guaranteed by the Constitution. The referendum was described by Rychetsky as a way of finding out the general will, a direct form of people's rule. The proposal envisages that the president will in certain cases be able to allow some issues to be decided by referendum. The result should then have the power of a constitutional law.

On the temporary widening of the president's powers, Rychetsky said among other things that the president should be able to reject a law and return it to the legislative body with qualified comments for further discussion, which is normal practice in a majority of civilized states.

If we have an institution which is empowered to dismiss the Federal Assembly, then we need to enable him, the president, to rule by decrees until a new legislative body is established. For resolving crisis situations, the president should also have the power to appoint a caretaker cabinet, Rychetsky asserted.

VPN Chairman Reviews Havel's 'Harsh' Address

LD1012224590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Interview with Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence (VPN), by unidentified reporter at the ninth joint meeting of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly in Prague on 10 December—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Let us consider the words of the president of the Republic delivered in parliament this morning. They were in my view quite harsh at times.

[Gal] I have spoken about the situation more than once in the last few days. The atmosphere is unnecessarily dramatic and charged with visions of conflict. I see it differently. Look, on Saturday the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence [VPN] was in session and made a clear decision that arguments about jurisdiction will be dealt with constitutionally. This means that hypotheses to the effect that the Slovak National Council will declare its sovereignty are not founded in reality. For two days I have been speaking to prominent representatives of the legislature, to those with executive powers, and to our partners from the leadership of Civic Forum [OF]. The situation is such as to convince me that the laws on division of powers will be passed on Tuesday and we shall be able at last to devote ourselves to concrete problems connected with economic reform. The tension which unnecessarily makes the life of ordinary people unpleasant will at last start to go.

[Reporter] You said that this is not founded in reality and was also a subject of your private talks with the president after his speech.

[Gal] I had a very short but very open talk with President Vaclav Havel. I think that the main problem is communication—and not only communication between the Castle, governments, and political representatives. We often hear about our views from television and papers instead of making use of modern information technology and personal contact. In the coming days, weeks, and months, we shall have, above all, to improve communication.

[Reporter] You have deviated a little from the question.

[Gal] I pointed out to President Havel that on Saturday the Slovak Council of the VPN was in session, and it adopted important decisions. One was the decision that conflict should be dealt with by a matter-of-fact dialogue and not by putting the stability of this federation in jeopardy. I have spent the last hour at the session of our deputies club, and if it is representative of other deputies clubs I have a feeling that tomorrow's session will be matter of fact and free of conflict.

[Reporter] This means no constitutional crisis, such as has been a threat in the last few days to this session and actually to society as a whole.

[Gal] I will tell you honestly that when I watch the television news and read the papers in the morning I feel that they are reporting on a different country from the one in which I live every day. I meet politicians, I meet prominent representatives of parliaments and governments, and it seems to me that there is no threat of any constitutional crisis, any catastrophe, any breakup of the federation. There is only one threat: that we shall be seeking for too long for the ways to mutual understanding. This however is also a part of an awakening society.

[Reporter] In conclusion, Mr. Gal: Do you think that the president also gave in to this atmosphere when he made the problems appear as great as he presented them in his speech?

[Gal] I respect President Havel enormously. But I think that his speech today was not satisfactory and it grieves me a little.

Democratic Party Declaration on Current Crisis

AU1112091090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Dec 90 p 13

[Statement by the Democratic Party, reprinted from the Democratic Party daily CAS, Issue No. 284]

[Text] We observe with concern that the federal organs of the state are intentionally preparing to sabotage the revolution by negating the agreement on the sphere of competence between the Czech and Slovak nations. The will of nations, expressed in the decisions made by their supreme political representatives, that is, their national councils, is to be changed in the name of a few hundred federal officials. It is undeniable that the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council are proceeding in conformity with the will of their voters. We believe that the Federal Assembly members will also realize that their voters expect the same thing from them. If this does not happen, then the federation will be put at risk and the very existence of the state will put at risk as well, for which those who act contrary to the will of their voters will be responsible.

Finance Minister Klaus on Power-Sharing Disputes

AU1112124690 Prague CTK in English 1406 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister and Civic Forum (OF) Chairman Vaclav Klaus described at a press conference here today as surprising the fact that no Slovak Government's representative attended yesterday's Federal Government session.

Klaus said that it was not appropriate that members of the Slovak Government, who arrived here yesterday for talks with the Czech Government on some questions at issue concerning power-sharing between federal and national republics' bodies, did not meet also their federal colleagues.

He added that the whole situation around the power-sharing which is to be settled by an amendment to the Constitutional Law on Czechoslovak Federation of 1968 that will be discussed by the federal parliament next week, should not be unnecessarily dramatized.

Asked to comment on this morning's alleged statement by Slovak Deputy Pr ime Minister [Kucerak] in an interview with a DPA correspondent here that "the Federal Assembly (parliament) is certainly very strong but only as long as the federation exists," Vaclav Klaus said that he had discussed some partial questions of power-sharing with him and that their views were diametrically different but federation was not discussed. He added he cannot comment on the above-mentioned statement since Kucerak did not tell it him.

Journalists were also told that the future of the Civic [Forum] movement will be discussed in Olomouc, North Moravia, on the weekend. Conclusions from the meeting will be submitted to the OF Assembly due at the beginning of January 1991.

Federal Officials Seen Endangering Federation

AU1112081990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Dec 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Who Is Steering the Federation Toward Danger?"]

[Text] The indiscriminate attacks by the Czech press on Vladimir Meciar went beyond political polemics. The personal invectives directed at him culminated in last night's Radio Czechoslovakia broadcast in which the Slovak prime minister was unscrupulously called a "country bumpkin." There is already a tradition of anti-Meciar demagogy—throughout the Prague mass media, particularly the mass media close to Civic Forum [OF]. This demagogy intensified, however, after OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus and Marian Calfa's government agreed for all practical purposes the statement by Federal Minister Vladimir Dlouhy—this statement was, in fact, an appeal to Slovak representatives to recall Meciar from his function. Czechoslovakists, burdened with the "Benes syndrome" [reference to position of former president Eduard Benes that Czechs and Slovaks are one nation] have once again misjudged the situation in Slovakia. Based on the misinterpretation of the election results—in which the Slovak National Party was defeated—and the distorted conclusions of one public opinion poll, they are making efforts to reverse the process of the settlement between Czech and Slovaks. They are steering the federation toward a situation in which it runs the risk of not being able to withstand the confrontational tension provoked by the scheming of the Pragocentrist bureaucrats at the top of the federation.

Recently, there has been a growing number of voices in Slovakia saying that, in fact, the Czechs have two governments. Above all, it is the Federal Government that vehemently protects their interests against justified Slovak claims. The Czechs do not even think of Pithart's government as their own government—frequent attacks against the Czech Government prime minister for his realistic approach to the demands made by the Slovak Republic show this. The view that the "post-Munich betrayal by the Slovaks was a stab in the back of the Czechs which cannot be easily forgotten" continues to be characteristic of the atmosphere in the Czech environment. In this context, there appeared in the latest issue of the weekly RESPECT a statement by a Czech author from abroad that "the Slovaks owe the Czechs an apology, at least such an apology as Margaret Thatcher offered on the behalf of Britain."

The manifestations of the political neurosis of the economic technocrats from the center, Prague, contrast sharply with the peaceful tone of Peter Pithart. They do not even pretend to have a tactful attitude toward Slovakia and, being burdened with a simplified pattern of thinking, they are unable to grasp the complexity of

the Slovak political situation. The degree to which they are out of touch with reality has assumed such proportions that the circles close to the Castle seriously considered the idea of dividing Slovakia into two autonomous administrative units linked directly with the federal center. "Inspection tours" by the federal prime minister of his native region indicate from "where the wind is blowing." This will hardly strengthen his position in the Public Against Violence movement, where the faction that is favorably inclined to Meciar has more acceptance than those who, to the detriment of "Chance for Slovakia," are willing to make concessions in the interests of preserving cooperation with OF.

Parliament Passes Amendment to Labor Code

AU0712142290 Prague CTK in English 2107 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today approved a draft amendment to the labor code, which says that employees have a right to be informed of the work of the enterprise and questions concerning its economy and development through trade union bodies.

The amended labor code represents a compromise between efforts to completely delete an article providing for the right of employees to participate in the enterprise's management and control, and trade union demands for the article to be kept in the code.

The parliament passed also a government draft amendment to the customs law, envisaging the establishment of customs guards numbering 6,000 and bringing Czechoslovak customs legislation closer to norms valid in the European Community.

Other bills passed by the Federal Assembly are a bill on handling and control of some kinds of goods and technologies, making possible imports and exports of top strategic products and technologies and providing for control of their exports to a limited number of countries, as well as an amendment to the criminal law, under which illegal foreign currency traders can be given prison terms ranging from six months to eight years. At the close of today's session the parliament approved an amendment to the law on the function of police, providing for extra pay for overtime work by policemen, which will require expenditures of about 200 million korunas.

The joint meeting of the House of Nations and the House of the People continues on Thursday.

Pithart Plans To Cut Back Ministries, Officials

LD1012101790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Czech Government Prime Minister Petr Pithart stressed in an interview given to Czechoslovak Television yesterday that the Civic Forum cannot continue to exist in its present form. He said that it would be desirable if it has a precise and unambiguous program.

Regarding the power-sharing issue, he assured viewers that the government intends to reduce the number of ministries and ministerial officials. Providing the Federal Assembly adopts the power-sharing law many more demanding obligations will emerge. Petr Pithart stressed that the government is totally determined not to increase the number of existing ministries.

Former Communist Party Chief Serving Sentence

AU0712142690 Prague CTK in English 2136 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—Miroslav Stepan, the former chief secretary of the Prague Communist Party Committee, has been in Prague's Pankrac prison since yesterday, where he started serving his prison sentence of two and a half years.

Stepan was originally sentenced to four years jail for abusing the powers of a public official on July 9, 1990 but a court of appeal commuted it to two and a half years in September. Stepan will not serve the whole term as the time spent in custody is counted towards the sentence. Within about ten days the prison administration will decide whether Stepan will serve his sentence at Pankrac or another prison.

Increase in Heating Fuel Prices To Be Approved

AU0712140790 Prague CTK in English 1455 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—Prices of heating are to go up in Czechoslovakia by up to 390 percent as of January 1, 1991 if they are approved by the Federal Government at its meeting on Thursday.

The Finance Ministry is proposing an increase in retail prices of thermal energy by 390 percent, coke by 246, coal 234, natural gas 90 and lightning gas by 43 percent.

This proposal follows the increase in wholesale prices of fuels and heating which came into effect on December 1. The difference between the increased wholesale prices and stagnating retail prices represents considerable sums in December and therefore the government counts on state subsidies of some 700 million korunas for enterprises in the current month.

People can be surprised that an increase in the price of electricity is not being proposed. The reason is that its price was relatively high, when compared with other kinds of energy, and was not subsidized. Preserving its present price is aimed at boosting the use of this kind of energy, not harmful from the ecological point of view.

Two basic proposals are prepared to counter considerable social impact. The first, which is recommended by the Federal Finance Ministry, counts on compensation by the state of 7,500 million korunas for 1991, i.e., about

a 50 percent compensation. The money would probably go to help mainly pensioners and children. The Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs proposes to increase this compensation up to 9,400 million korunas and give it to all citizens. Retired persons should be given an advantage.

Farmers Protest Law Threatening Cooperative Farms

AU0712140290 Prague CTK in English 2126 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—Representatives of Cooperative Farmers' Unions will submit to the federal parliament and to the Czech and Slovak Governments a petition protesting legislation threatening further existence of the farms, it was announced at Zdar nad Sazavou, South Moravia, today.

A national meeting of the unions' representatives warned that if the petition is turned down, the farmers' unions from the Czech and Slovak Republics would stage a protest demonstration in Prague.

The meeting rejected the endeavor of some radical reformers according to whom farming needs neither reform nor subsidies arguing that all problems will be solved by the market. The unions' representatives, however, say that this would cause disintegration of Czechoslovakia's farming and the food market. They pointed out that the European Community subsidized farming at 38 percent and neighboring Austria 44 percent last year.

This year's planned profit in the sphere of farming and food will not be probably attained, especially due to higher prices of oil. In the Czech lands the deficit will be 7.7 percent, in Slovakia 33.4 percent, it was noted at the meeting.

Federal Assembly Creates Armed Forces Inspector

LD0612172190 Prague CTK in English 1513 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—A proposal for the creation of a general inspector of the armed forces was passed into law today by a large majority in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

According to the bill, the general inspector will oversee the inspection of the armed forces, including all departments and equipment. The general inspector will either perform the inspections personally or will empower other inspectors to do so instead.

The inspector will also prepare for parliament reports on the armed forces' implementation of constitutional or other legal provisions, estimated expenditures, level of preparedness, and implementation of military strategy.

Speaking in favour of the bill, Deputy Pavel Jegl (Civic Forum) said that until now parliament has not had a specialized organ capable of exercising control over the condition and activities of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces and the implementation of National Defence Policy.

38 Czechoslovak Citizens Return From Iraq

LD1112090290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0700 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] A plane with members of the Czechoslovak goodwill mission in Iraq and 38 Czechoslovak citizens held in Baghdad landed in Prague yesterday. The remaining two Czechoslovak citizens, Mr. and Mrs. Zak, who originally wanted to return home, are still waiting in the Iraqi capital until all the necessary arrangements for ending their job contracts are made. About 14 employees of our embassy in Iraq have not returned to Czechoslovakia.

General Urges 'More Objective' Reporting on Gulf

LD1112094590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] As we have already informed you, the Czechoslovak goodwill mission returned from Iraq yesterday evening. After a welcome at Ruzyne Airport in Prague, the head of the mission, Army General Miroslav Vacek, described as a success the fact that 38 out of the 40 citizens wanting to return home had been brought back.

He also said that the mission had been received very cordially in Iraq, and that the reports about the situation in the Persian Gulf shold be more objective.

Miroslav Vacek stressed the fact that our citizens had been living in prfectly normal conditions, just as they were before the Iraqi invsion of Kuwait, and that they had not suffered any harm.

Housing To Be Built for Soviet Soldiers

AU0712142890 Prague CTK in English 1931 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Bonn Dec 5 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia has a chance to participate in an extensive project of building 36,000 flats and other facilities in the USSR for Soviet soldiers leaving the part of Germany formerly called the GDR.

Talks on this issue took place between representatives of Czechoslovak and German organizations in Cologne on Tuesday and today.

A total of 7,800 million marks from the funds which Germany will grant the USSR to cover the stay and withdrawal of Soviet troops from the former GDR will be earmarked for housing construction for the returning troops. The project is to be completed within four years.

Czechoslovak representatives have offered the USSR to participate in the construction of another 36,000 flats to be ensured by the Soviet side.

Trade Agreement Signed With Bulgaria 6 Dec

LD0612190690 Prague CTK in English 1727 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—An agreement on trade and payments to be realized after November 1, 1991, between the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian Governments was signed here today.

Under the agreement payments for mutual deliveries of goods and services will be conducted in convertible currencies instead of transferable rubles which have been used in payments so far.

An intergovernmental protocol on the settlement of mutual debts and commitments by December 12, 1990, was also signed.

Havel Meets German Bank Delegation on Investments

LD0612182390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Republic President Vaclav Havel, received Deutsche Bank representatives at Prague Castle today.

The bank delegation arrived in our country yesterday. Deutsche Bank representatives expressed their willingness to participate in specific projects in Czechoslovakia. The first and most important one could be an oil pipeline linking Litvinov, Czechoslovakia, and Ingolstadt, Germany. At the same time, they assured Vaclav Havel about their interest to invest in other spheres of Czechoslovak national economy.

Havel Leaves For Visit to Spain, Portugal

LD1112114290 Prague CTK in English 0923 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia left here today on a five-day state visit to Spain and Portugal.

He is expected to meet with Spanish King Juan Carlos I., and hold talks with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Portuguese President Mario Soares.

President Havel is accompanied by Federal Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, Minister of Economics Vladimir Dlouhy and Minister for Strategic Planning Pavel Hoffmann.

Calfa Receives Catalonian Delegation 10 Dec

LD1012164490 Prague CTK in English 1512 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa received here today representatives of a visiting Catalonian delegation led by President of the Catalonian Democratic Union Executive Committee Josep A Duran I Lleida.

The Spanish guests informed him of the system of 17 autonomous regions in Spain which have their own constitutions and governments.

Calfa acquainted the delegation, which includes some 20 representatives of the prominent Catalonian and Spanish business circles, with the country's transition to a market economy. He stressed that Czechoslovakia started its economic reform with reprivatization of nationalized property and that it counts with participation of foreign capital in its enterprises in the future. Economic norms are being drafted with the prospect of Czechoslovakia's admission to the European Community.

Havel Meets With Cuban Opposition Representatives

LD0612225190 Prague CTK in English 2127 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel assured here today representatives of the Cuban opposition of Czechoslovakia's continued support for the ideals of Cuban democracy.

Havel stressed at a meeting with the Cuban representatives, who are currently in Prague participating in the international scientific symposium "Revolutionary Changes in the USSR, Central and Eastern Europe and Their Impact on the Orthodox Communist Regimes", that Czechoslovakia is fully aware of the impact of the changes in Central and Eastern Europe on Cuban democrats. They are of the same significance to them as was the victory of "Solidarity" in Poland for Czechoslovakia, he said.

Also present in the meeting was Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

* * * * *

Dienstbier received here today a delegation of all participants in the two-day scientific symposium which ended here today. They paid attention especially to economic assistance to Czechoslovakia to be provided by American entrepreneurs. [passage omitted]

Dienstbier Discusses Cooperation With EC Envoys

LD1012173990 Prague CTK in English 1558 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met here today with the EC countries' ambassadors to Czechoslovakia to discuss cooperation with the "twelve."

They dealt with the planned agreement on Czechoslovakia's association with the EC, financial assistance to Czechoslovakia, EC intergovernmental conferences on political, economic and currency union, which will start in Rome this week, and with the international situation.

Jiri Dienstbier appreciated Italy's chairmanship of the EC in the second half of this year and underlined the development of cooperation between the "twelve" and the Central and Eastern European countries.

European Culture Club Constituent Session Ends

AU0712142490 Prague CTK in English 2111 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—John Mathesson from Switzerland, the newly elected vice-president of the European Culture Club, told journalists here today that political borders have been removed and now it is necessary to remove also cultural and spiritual borders for all to get to know each other well.

The constituent three-day congress of the European Culture Club ended with the election of members of the club's presidium and adoption of documents, especially a declaration of the European Culture Club which will be conveyed to the Council of Europe in January. Some 200 writers, artists, film-makers, critics, art historians, publicists and other cultural and art figures from some 22 European countries and from overseas took part in the club's three-day session. Czech painter Josef Cisarovsky was elected president of this non-political, non-governmental association of professional artists, John Mathesson from Switzerland and Martine Dauvergne from France were elected vice presidents.

The club will establish a central databank of European art in Prague which will collect, elaborate and make accessible information on all kinds of art.

The next congress of the European Cultural Club is to be held within two years.

The declaration adopted at the congress said that its participants intend to make use of new possibilities offered by the political development in Europe making it possible to reach real economic, cultural and also political integration in Europe for the first time.

The club intends to be a platform for meeting and for multilateral dialogue based on interest in others and not on antipathy.

The club intends to protect and defend cultural community in its versatile and heterogeneous form.

It basically rejects all expressions of nationalism, racism and religious intolerance which have emerged recently. Integration is possible even if differences of individual cultures are preserved as the European humanistic tradition unifies them, the declaration said.

OF's Klaus Calls For Right-of-Center Party

LD0812225490 Prague CTK in English 1647 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Text] Olomouc, North Moravia, Dec 8 (CTK)—Vaclav Klaus, the chairman of the largest political grouping in the Czech Republic—the Civic Forum, called today for the forming of a mass party which should stand to "the right from the imaginary centre".

Addressing a republic working session of the Civic Forum, the first in its history, dealing with the movement's political orientation and structure, Klaus, who is also the federal finance minister, said the movement can no longer stay united on a program of common opposition to the former regime.

He said that according to sociological surveys roughly ten per cent of voters of the Civic Forum would want to be in the party. He pointed out that "no path of socialism with a human face, no left alternatives or Obroda (communists expelled from the party after the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia) can lead to a modern European state.... We are following up the tradition of the first republic (1918-1938), Christianity, European civilization."

He listed priorities in the following order—citizen, family, community, state and responsibilities deriving from this sequence.

Klaus stated that the new party must rely mainly on young people, it must turn to believers and the rising private sector and not lose contact with artists and intellectuals in general as trends towards leftism logically originate in these two groups. Also important will be workers in large factories, most affected by the past regime and by the social democratic attitudes of trade union leaders. "Our duty is to unite on one single program—economic reforms aimed at transition to market economy", Klaus said.

Talks Concerning Iranian Oil Deliveries Reported

AU1012123190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Dec 90 p 1

["(K.J.)" -signed report: "Oil From Iran?"]

[Text] At the news conference of the Ministry of Industry and Trade on Wednesday, 5 December, we were told that Deputy State Secretary Arpad Bakay had begun preliminary negotiations in Iran for the delivery of 2 to 2.5 million tonnes of oil from Iran to Hungary.

Arpad Bakay informed us that he had taken part in the Teheran meeting of the industrial subcommittee of the Hungarian-Iranian mixed committee and had held talks with the representatives of six Iranian ministries, including the Petroleum Ministry, where he was told that Iran was prepared to regularly deliver 2 to 2.5 million tonnes of crude oil per year to Hungary. The deliveries would be made under favorable terms which would even help Hungary improve its strategic oil supplies. An Iranian petroleum delegation will be arriving in Hungary this month to iron out details. When trying to convey the importance of this business deal, it would be worthwhile to mention that up until now, the Soviet Union has delivered 6.4 million tonnes of oil per year to Hungary, but for 1991, the Soviet Union has only promised to deliver 1 million tonnes of oil so far. We can hope for a further 1 to 2 million tonnes of oil on the basis of our barter agreements with the federated republics.

Nevertheless, this possible oil deal is only a part of the increasingly intense relations between Hungary and Iran. During the negotiations in Iran, the Hungarian Energy Planning Institute [Energiagazdalkodasi Intezet] and the Transelektro firm signed an $80 million deal with the Iranian electricity works, concerning the delivery of a Heller-Forgo type cooling tower to an Iranian power station.

It was also mentioned that an aluminum factory would be set up in Iran to process Iranian bauxite, and Hungary's aluminum industry may also take part in this project. The Hungarian Raba enterprise may also find a market in Iran; this large-scale enterprise from Gyor will shortly be making its first delivery of frames needed for a factory that is to assemble 1,000 buses per year. If the Hungarian articles prove to be satisfactory, an agreement may be signed on the delivery of 800-1,000 articles per year.

Accord With Soviets, Skubiszewski Visit Viewed

LD1012154490 Budapest MTI in English 1419 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 10 (MTI)—The new, comprehensive Hungarian-Soviet agreement is to be signed by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and President Mikhail Gorbachev during Antall's visit to Moscow in February 1991. In early February Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky will leave for Moscow to attend a round-table conference with his counterpart, Edward Shevardnadze, and initial the draft agreement.

Speaking to journalists on Monday, Jozsef Herman, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced that Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski was to arrive on a two-day visit to Budapest on Tuesday. Besides talks with his host, Geza Jeszenszky, Skubiszewski will meet President Arpad Goncz and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. The idea of the trip is to coordinate moves on the way back to Europe.

The spokesman said that the usual Friday (December 7) conference at the Foreign Ministry covered the relations between Hungary and the European Communities. It was noted that Hungary's foreign policy was aimed at establishing ever closer contacts with the EC. On December 20, talks are to begin in Brussels on Hungary's associate status. If all goes to plan, the draft document will be ready by mid-1991 and the association agreement come into force on January 1, 1992.

Tokes Issues Statement on Romanian Accusations

AU1012155290 Budapest MTI in English 1554 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, 7 Dec (MTI)—Laszlo Tokes, bishop of the Reformed Church of Oradea, forwarded the following statement to MTI on Friday:

"On December 5, 1990, four months after my car crash, it became necessary for me to interrupt my treatment and return to Oradea (Nagyvarad), the place of my ministry, together with my wife and two children.

"On that same day, the Senate faction leader of the ruling Romanian National Salvation Front, Vasilie Vacaru, accused me of activities against the state and the nation and demanded that criminal proceedings be launched against me and that I be arrested. This demand was repeated by Romanian Radio every hour, with the obvious intention of creating confusion.

"At the same time, the 1990/39th issue of the Bucharest periodical ZIG-ZAG carried the translation of an interview, allegedly given by me to 'CORRIERE DELLA SERA', according to which I was to launch a second revolution with the intention of overthrowing the present ruling forces.

"I hereby declare that I have not committed any act against the law of our country, against the state or the nation. The charges of the many hostile Romanian papers are totally lacking in basis, as does the text of the alleged interview carried by ZIG-ZAG with reference to 'CORRIERE DELLA SERA'.

"I want to call the attention of the public at home and abroad to the fact that a witch hunt and a vulgar press campaign of slander have been organized from the behind the scenes and have been going on against me in Romania for some months now. Certain officials, senators and MPs are also party to this campaign.

"The articles mentioned are distorting slanders. On many occasions, I have also been branded a traitor, an anti-Romanian chauvinist, a Transylvanian irredentist, a spy of the CIA or an agent of the Hungarian or the one-time Romanian secret service. These allegations incite hatred not only against me but against the Hungarian minority and the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians living in Romania as a whole, of which I am honorary president.

"The discrimination against me is intended to be a blow not only against me and Hungarians in Romania but also against the process of democratic renewal, launched last December at the Temesvar [Timisoara] church, where I ministered.

"A diversionary incitement is threatening the transformation in Romania, which had hardly started when it then ground to a halt and got stuck. The chief weapon of this incitement is to stir up trouble and incite hatred among the ethnic groups. The presumably legal but hopefully still avoidable action is timed for the first anniversary of last year's revolutionary events.

"Being a committed supporter of peaceful transformation, national unity and reconciliation, I now protest against the destructive, divisive and destabilizing attempts at incitement, which only provoke hatred, and threaten the democratic and national development of Romania and its successful social reconciliation. My declaration is concordant with that of the Romanian opposition's opinion.

"I have been compelled to make this statement as a result of the menacing situation I and my family now find ourselves in. It is a feeling similar to that which we suffered a year ago, during the Ceausescu and Securitate era. This is also emphasised by the fact that one of our relatives was stabbed a short time ago. In June, one of our friends in Temesvar was attacked and invalided by persons unknown. He is still being treated in a Budapest hospital. I am continuously being threatened, as well as the writer Andras Suto, who was blinded in one eye at the instigation of the Vatra Romaneasca in Tirgu Mures (Marosvasarhely) in March.

"Time and time again there are crosses and other signs daubed on the wall of our house in Nagyvarad. Our gate was damaged with crowbars.

"The tensions created by inciting hatred against Hungarians are in themselves threatening.

"I am asking democratic countries and forces, churches, the public at home and abroad and human and minority rights movements to morally support my cause, not only for my family and myself but for all Romanian citizens under threat, for the Hungarian ethnic minority, for Romanian democracy and for peace and reconciliation in Central-East Europe."

MDF Official Interviewed on Government Activity

AU1012112990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Dec 90 p 4

[Interview with Imre Konya, head of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's (MDF) parliamentary faction, by "(B.P.P.)"; place and date not given: "A Government of Experts"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] The head of the parliamentary faction of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is allegedly urging the creation of a government of experts. We asked him about this and, during our conversation, we discussed about the health condition of the prime minister and his area of activity. Imre Konya warns the public not to expect miracles from the new government....

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In connection with the upcoming government reshuffle, you have allegedly urged the creation of a government of experts....

[Konya] The only truth about this is that I indeed believe that we should continue the same trend in the government that emerged at the beginning—namely, to refrain from setting up the government exclusively on party affiliation.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] This is precisely what Jozsef Antall promised in the spring....

[Konya] [International Economic Relations Minister] Bela Kadar and [Former Finance Minister] Ferenc Rabar are not party politicians, nor were the other ministers leading party politicians.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The prime minister has been avoiding the press lately, and he is only making certain guided declarations. This way, however, it is impossible to evaluate and confirm a circulating rumor according to which the MDF chairman and prime minister is seriously ill.... Many people claim that he is under heavy medication, which impairs his physical and mental well-being.... Is there any truth in all this?

[Konya] No. This is not true! The medical bulletin issued in connection with the prime minister's illness was clear. His illness and medication do not limit his physical or mental well-being at all.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] I only asked this question because, if this was true, and given the fact that the leadership of the MDF and of the government is in the same hands, this would upset the activity....

[Konya] That is true. I can say with confidence, therefore, that there is no such thing! Concern is justified, of course, because his operation and illness are facts, and it would really be a problem if the rumors were true. Concern is also justified because, if true, the consequences would be serious for the entire country.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In other words, the prime minister's area of activity is unchanged.

[Konya] That is true. Thus, for example, the prime minister is exclusively authorized to set up the new government list. I must add, however, that he gladly accepts proposals from everyone, and I mean here the party's parliamentary faction. Obviously, everyone thinks and comes up with proposals. The truth, however, is that the situation is extremely difficult. If one has high-level professional and organizational skills, he could easily be a government member, even if he sympathizes with the Alliance of Free Democrats. Besides, most of the Hungarian intellectuals are not "committed" to any party. Thus, most of them even have a chance to become a prime minister.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What is the difficulty, then?

[Konya] We lack well-tested people. No one has any experience in parliamentary democracy and in functional government.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In other words, one should not expect miracles from the new government either?

[Konya] We can only trust one thing—namely, that our parliamentary democracy will function. We need time, however, for the development of healthy social processes.

37th MSZDP Congress Approves Party Rules

LD0812224390 Budapest MTI in English 1642 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 8 (MTI)—After an interval of over a month, the 37th congress of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH) [MSZDP] was resumed in Budapest on Saturday with President Anna Petrasovits in the chair. The congress has approved the party rules.

The contributors emphasized that the SDPH represented first of all the employees and identified itself as a European-type (Non-Marxist) workers, party, standing close to the progressive professionals adopting Europeanism and the values of left-wing internationalism. The Social Democrats take a resolute stand for the interest of small entrepreneurs. The congress commemorated the party's centenary as well.

The internal opposition, the Alternative Social Democrats, started a counter-congress in Budapest on Saturday to commemorate the centenary. In their view, the policy pursued by the party leaders is unacceptable for the members. The Alternative Social Democrats disagree with the style of the leadership as well.

Chief Prosecutor Gyougyi Interviewed on Activity

AU1012192390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Dec 90 pp 1,4

[Interview with Chief Prosecutor Kalman Gyorgyi by Andras Sereg; place and date not given: "We Do Not Need a Legal Patchwork!"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] The public does not have enough information about the activity of the Public Prosecutor's Office in protecting the citizens' rights, carrying out criminal surveillance, and representing the prosecution, Kalman Gyorgyi said after the National Assembly rejected his answer to an interpellation made by Lukacs Szabo of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. The fact that, after all, the Constitutional Committee voted in favor of accepting the chief prosecutor's answer shows the controversy in the evaluation.

[Gyorgyi] In its function as a prosecuting authority, the Prosecutor's Office has done a lot of damage to the Hungarian people. These crimes were related to the dark passages of recent decades. I regard it as the shame of our domestic legal system that, in the staged trials, there always were prosecutors who represented the false accusation at the courts, either in the hope of economic advantages or out of fear or compromise. Without trying to defer responsibility, I must also say that criminal investigation people and judges who played a dishonest role in these trials are also to be blamed. Thus, if we examine the issue from a historic viewpoint, we can only talk about the responsibility of our justice administration. [passage omitted]

[Sereg] The concept of reorganizing the domestic prosecution system will be discussed by the government in January 1991. What will the draft contain?

[Gyorgyi] One of the main questions is the role of the prosecution in the constitutional order. Both the traditions of Hungarian public law and the solutions found by the Western countries show that the Public Prosecutor's Office should be connected to government activity. In other words, according to the plans, the prosecution should be directly controlled by the justice minister. [passage omitted]

[Sereg] Procedures that are more public, like the Carlos affair, greatly influence the evaluation of the Prosecutor's Office. Are there any new developments in this affair?

[Gyorgyi] As is well known, we have extended the investigation and we have also turned to the Austrian and German authorities. It is possible that we will also turn to the French authorities. I would like to point out that the dimensions of the Carlos affair are extraordinary, and so is its investigation, something that has never before been carried out in Hungary. Our investigators will have to examine a tremendous pile of files. [passage omitted]

Official Presidential Election Results Issued

LD1012211190 Warsaw PAP in English 1938 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10—Lech Walesa has been elected president of the Republic of Poland, the State Electoral Commission officially announced this afternoon. The commission today accepted voting protocols from all the provincial electoral commissions and on that basis it determined the official results of the second round of the presidential election.

The commission made a protocol of the second round and a protocol on the election outcome. This outcome has been made available to the public in the form of an announcement which reads, in part:

"The State Electoral Commission on the grounds of collective protocols received from all the provincial electoral commissions, has determined the following results of the second round of presidential election in Poland:

a) Voting was held at 22,236 districts
b) Electorate 27,436,078
c) Actually voted 14,650,037
d) Valid votes 14,305,794
e) Invalid votes 344,243

f) The candidates received the following numbers of votes:

1. Stanislaw Tyminski 3,683,098 votes, that is 25.75 percent of the total number of valid votes.
2. Lech Walesa 10,622,696 votes, that is, 74.25 percent of all the valid votes.

Therefore, the State Electoral Commission announces that of the two candidates the greater number of votes was given to Lech Walesa who has thus been elected president of the Republic of Poland. [no closing quotes as received]

Walesa Speaks at Solidarity Headquarters

LD1012204390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] The president-elect began his working day at 0930 today at Solidarity headquarters.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] I want to remind you that I have already begun working today. I want to remind you that I have to settle things with the union. I have to organize union work; furthermore, I also have to think as president, though not sworn in yet. In this connection you have to be more patient, as I want to get on well with you, because you can elevate me even higher and help the Polish reform or you can clip my wings. I am anxious to be on good terms with you, but you have to understand me. I have to work and you have to work. So, let us carry on avoiding possible collisions in this difficult period.

[Unidentified voice] What will happen to the union when you leave, Mr. Chairman?

[Walesa] The union will consolidate itself, and I will continue to help the union, remembering my origin, remembering that I left the shipyard without a tie and in dirty clothes, and today I am wearing a white shirt and a nice tie. [end recording]

Walesa Interviewed on Presidential Plans

AU1112090990 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 7-9 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Lech Walesa by Adam Cymer in Gdansk on 6 December 1990: "I Have Set My Sights On Democracy"]

[Text] [Cymer] You have gone through a heavy election campaign and held many meetings in various regions. What is your impression of Poland, and what do you think of society's moods?

[Walesa] I do not think it is possible to assess the moods of Poles, neither is it possible to provide any clear-cut assessment of anyone. My thoughts are as follows: We have commenced a very difficult reform process, and we have made and are still making many mistakes in this process, including the great mistake of failing to inform each other and hold talks between each other. Even the best ideas will be rejected if society is not consulted about them beforehand. In this context I frequently refer to Churchill, who won the war but lost an election, because he also thought his great contribution could only result in an election win. We have a similar case with Prime Minister Mazowiecki. His great contribution has also gone unnoticed by the people and has not been appreciated, which became apparent after the first round of the election. The conclusion is simple—we must implement the Polish reforms together with the people. I do not mean we have to teach people complicated economic theory and win them over by means of figures. I mean we have to talk to them and provide them with information so that they can see what it is we want, what we are doing, where we have succeeded, and where we have failed. Poles, therefore, are underinformed; this has to be changed by means of straightforward information, or else everyone will become terribly suspicious.

[Cymer] I think the following question is justified on the eve of your presidency, for your victory seems obvious—what are the most important tasks to settle, and what can one offer society to encourage it to take a greater part in building a new Poland?

[Walesa] I have been thinking about this for a long time. I consider various problems and seek the kind of solutions that are possible to implement without undue outlay. I consider what kind of things can be implemented right away and what can quickly achieve results. The first thing I would concentrate on is safety in Polish cities. The first thing I have to get under control is

hooliganism. The situation must be brought under control. I will not let the constantly increasing feeling of danger continue. I will mobilize everyone in this matter—I will appeal to the police and Army; I will contact local government bodies, and even parish priests if necessary, to provide me with the best people for this work, so that everyone may be convinced he has to take part in guaranteeing his own safety. At the same time, all those who threaten society's safety must be given to understand that they will not go unpunished. I do not mean just court sentences, but also educational activity. I will undertake that. Afterwards, we will get down to privatization. During my first presidential term, I intend to convey over 60 percent of Poland's assets to society. I do not mean a distribution of these assets, but a general enfranchisement of society, so that our impoverished society can invest its funds in the purchase of national assets. This will be guaranteed by law. As a result, society will feel that it owns these assets, which will generate a feeling of respect for the assets and encourage people to make use of them. As a result, the assets that are now standing idle and not bringing any advantages will be set in motion. The third thing I will do is try to obtain credits and all available help for the Polish reforms, but not to maintain the industrial giants of the past, but to help enfranchised society develop private businesses and set up repair workshops, services, and enterprises. All this activity will be taxable, and these taxes will benefit all of us. I will also try to do more in the spheres which I have discussed, but this I will do after consulting experts and in conjunction with the future government. As president, I will want to discuss these matters frequently with society, but not during pompous audiences, but working meetings.

[Cymer] In these rapid programs of action, do you see any chances of rapid help for people in poverty, people in need, who for various reasons cannot manage on their own?

[Walesa] Of course there are such chances, and they will increase in line with the prosperity of society as a whole thanks to the expansion of free enterprise and a genuine economy. All this will bring money into the common kitty, out of which one will be able to help the poor. Today we do not have this money because the economy is not functioning well.

[Cymer] Apart from all this social and economic activity, it is necessary to expand democracy. You initiated Poland's march to democracy. As president, will you still set the pace for this march?

[Walesa] I have said many times that in every single era, it is necessary to move ahead in matters that are the most important ones. In the era toward which we are heading, democracy is our trump card. I will try to improve democracy so that it may bring results. That is a difficult road, but it is the only one. I will support any trend and initiative that expands the base of democracy and society's possibility of participating in the decisionmaking process.

[Cymer] You have said many times that you want to be president of all Poles, but without upsetting society's pluralism. Are these two factors reconcilable?

[Walesa] Right now we are setting off with many divisions and I myself created many divisions, but this multiplicity of streams must not interfere with the construction of common welfare. I do not wish to exaggerate, but I even want to give people who are presently in prison a chance to take part in this work, but not when they tell lies and deceive people, but when they genuinely want to perform positive work. I, therefore, will struggle for the preservation of variety and multiplicity if this is accompanied by a genuine desire by people to take part in building a common future.

[Cymer] You have repeated many times that you are not going to create a presidential system, but a presidential-parliamentary one that fully respects the status of the government and all levels of authority.

[Walesa] Yes, I will try to coordinate the activity of all these bodies of authority. Just as the president should see to it that society's organization conforms to the rules of democracy, so too must he see to it that all levels of authority have the right to assume a strong position in building the political system. It is the president who must guarantee the efficiency of these mechanisms. He must also make adjustments if necessary. All bodies of authority must be subservient to society and be subject to the Constitution.

[Cymer] What will be the role of the presidential council?

[Walesa] Because I have set my sights on democracy, the principles of democracy must also find expression in the work of the president. This function will be performed by the presidential council, which will work in three spheres—politics, the economy, and social affairs. In accordance with the needs in each of these spheres, I have in mind various possible scenarios, the council will consist of representatives of academic and artistic communities, trade unions, and political organizations, so that various groups of society may feel represented and take part in decisionmaking on matters that concern them.

[Cymer] Polish society is predominantly Catholic, though socially and politically it is pluralistic. What effect can this have on performing the role of president?

[Walesa] In no way can political pluralism clash with the Christian system of values. The political sphere must take into account the interests of all communities and religions. After all, democracy cannot be based on the domination of the majority over the minority, for the interests of the minority must also be considered. Pluralism also involves a relationship between faith and nationalities, and such a pluralism would not survive today if one only recognized one faith or one nationality. To this end tolerance is required, of which we have a great tradition in Poland. People of various nationalities

and faiths must learn to coexist in social and political life. That is the lesson that stems from the Christian system of values, which most Poles claim to subscribe to. I can reconcile my thoughts on this subject with my Catholic conscience, and the system of values which I consider to be important in social life is contained in the Ten Commandments.

[Cymer] We are talking shortly before the second round of the presidential election. How do you feel at such an important moment for you and for Poland?

[Walesa] I wish to devote another five years of service to this country, but not out of a desire for personal success. People often see only offices and functions, whereas I see hard work that will once again deprive me of social and family life. But seeing the great chances and believing in help from my countrymen, I think this is my duty.

[Cymer] Thank you, and I wish you final success on behalf of our paper and readership.

Mazowiecki Congratulates Walesa on Victory

LD1012170890 Warsaw PAP in English 1501 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent a telegram today to the new president-elect, Lech Walesa, which reads as follows:

On the occasion of your election to the office of president of the Republic, I wish fruitful bearings for your work ahead toward the welfare of our fatherland.

Tyminski To Remain in Country Pending Investigation

LD1012162390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] The minister of justice's press spokesman has announced that an investigation in connection with remarks made by Stanislaw Tyminski during the presidential campaign on 17 November in Zakopane that demeaned the supreme body of the Polish Republic is in progress. Several dozen witnesses have already been heard, as well as a magnetic tape recording of the election meeting in question. A summons has been sent to Stanislaw Tyminski to appear in the Prosecutor's Office where he will be interrogated. At the same time, according to the press spokesman's information, decisions have been made to ensure that Stanislaw Tyminski remains in Poland until his interrogation. The question is being considered as to whether the correct progress of the investigation will require Stanislaw Tyminski's presence in Poland until the final substantive decision is reached.

Tyminski Aide Queried on 'Political Setup'

PM1012101690 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 3 Dec 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with J. Gralak, Stanislaw Tyminski's representative on the State Election Commission, by GLOS PORANNY correspondent A. Marciniak, on 29 November; place not given: "Tyminski Did Not Fall Out of the Sky"; last paragraphis editorial note]

[Text] [Marciniak] What were the circumstances of Stanislaw Tyminski's arrival in Poland?

[Gralak] As we know, last September Tyminski's book, "Sacred Dogs," was published in Canada. Several people in Poland read it, too. Consequently, it was concluded in certain circles here that some of Tyminski's ideas are highly relevant in Poland today.

[Marciniak] What do you mean by "several people" and "certain circles?"

[Gralak] I use these expressions because I am not at liberty to reveal anything. In any case, these groups invited Mr. Tyminski to Poland. I can only say that the "circles" I referred to are groups of people involved with the running of economic ventures characterized by economic liberalism. Mr. Tyminski accepted the invitation, arrived in Poland, and held talks with them, but made no commitment to enter into any kind of partnership. He soon became aware, however, that many people in Poland found the philosophy presented in his book an attractive proposition.

[Marciniak] It is the philosophy of money, is it not?

[Gralak] You are mistaken. It is the philosophy of democratic money, which means something completely different. The term denotes the kind of legislative order which gives every person the opportunity to make money—within his capabilities, of course. Furthermore, the role of the state in such a system is to stimulate the initiative instead of thwarting it.

[Marciniak] Who persuaded Stanislaw Tyminski to run for president?

[Gralak] I happen to know who these people were, but their names are immaterial. This aspect already belongs to the past, so it is not so important; however, Mr. Tyminski told them that he would run as an independent candidate and that he did not intend to join any tendency. These conditions were accepted and today no one directs Tyminski in any way. Nor has anyone signed any kind of contract with him.

[Marciniak] What can you tell us about his group of advisers? I do not believe that Tyminski could stand and act in complete isolation.

[Gralak] Nor do I believe it, and this is where we agree. Only Mr. Tyminski can tell you more about his advisers. I can only add that his secretary is Krzysztof Pawlisz, who is a lawyer and a Torun University graduate. He

speaks three languages; he is young and intelligent. He is our candidate's first aide and special missions man.

[Marciniak] Are the groups you mentioned earlier associated with any known centers of political action?

[Gralak] With none at all. They have only one common denominator: They are all outstanding experts.

[Marciniak] In what fields?

[Gralak] Finance, organization and management, and law. In other words, in areas in which Poland needs experts most urgently at the moment.

[Marciniak] Has Tyminski engaged the same people as advisers from the very start?

[Gralak] Mr. Tyminski is a man open to all options and he takes advantage of many opportunities.

[Marciniak] Some people maintain that people associated with Stanislaw Tyminski's circle have connections with the previous establishment. Would you confirm that?

[Gralak] I deny it categorically. They have no association with either the present or the past authorities in power. I mean by this that they have never held serious positions of responsibility.

[Marciniak] There must have been a very definite political setup gathered around Tyminski from early on in his campaign....

[Gralak] Is that your opinion?

[Marciniak] Surely you do not intend to deny it?

[Gralak] Of course I do. Such attempts have been made form the very beginning; however, Tyminski remains firmly an independent candidate and he has a method of "filtering out" these advances. He wants to base his campaign on the very strong independent press which, after all, influences public moods, dictates popular opinion, and serves as a medium for disclosing and highlighting these moods and opinions to the authorities.

[Marciniak] What do you mean, "filters out?" Are you suggesting that Mr. Tyminski has some efficient, secret apparatus at his disposal, of which we know nothing?

[Gralak] No, no, absolutely not. He simply gives people to understand that he has no intention whatsoever of joining any political alignments or groupings or signing any contracts.

[Marciniak] Do you really believe that it is possible today, with the world being what it is, for a president not to be involved in and tied up with a number of inner circles and elites—if not political elites, then at least financial ones?

[Gralak] I do believe that, though it is very hard to maintain such belief.

[Marciniak] Do you believe that it will be possible in this particular case?

[Gralak] If I did not believe it, I would not be working here.

[Marciniak] Where would you be working instead?

[Gralak] At the moment I am running a highly prosperous consultancy company.

The interview was held on 29 November—that is, before Saturday's news conference shared by Lech Walesa and Stanislaw Tyminski—during which Czeslaw Bielecki accused our interviewee of having been employed in the past by the Security Service [SB].

Electoral Research Chief Views Voting Trends

PM1012104690 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 1-2 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Dr. Krzysztof Jasiewicz, head of the Independent Group for Election Research at the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) Institute of Political Studies by Teresa Kwasniewska; place and date not given: "Two Unknowns"]

[Text] [Kwasniewska] A second round in an election constitutes a new political experience in our democratic practice, does it not?

[Jasiewicz] Not entirely. After all, back in June 1989 we conducted two rounds of Sejm and Senate elections. As you will remember, turnout was very low in the second round of the election. This was because the issue that was really important to the electorate—that is, victory for Solidarity—was already decided in the first round. There are situations, however, where the electorate's interest in the second election round not only does not diminish but, on the contrary, increases. After all, that was what happened in the case of the secondary election in Opole Voivodship, where the ethnic Polish population turned out in large numbers to prevent the election of German minority representatives to the Senate.

[Kwasniewska] What reactions from the public do you think we can expect this time—that is, on 9 December?

[Jasiewicz] It is very difficult to venture any kind of forecast here. I must admit that I did not even suspect the first time round that Stanislaw Tyminski would score a victory over Tadeusz Mazowiecki, even though at a certain point in the campaign opinion poll results did show that the former candidate was in the lead. I expected this tendency to eventually recede, however, rather than gaining in intensity as it did—surprisingly enough. All the same, it is reasonable to assume that the turnout will be lower this time, because many people can no longer vote for their original candidates.

As concerns the election campaign so far, many Mazowiecki supporters are very disappointed with the results of the first round and, to make matters worse, the two

victorious candidates have not been doing much to attract new potential votes. Worse still, Walesa even originally antagonized his potential—as they are now—supporters by such tactics as, for instance, his sharply critical commentary on the resignation of the Mazowiecki government.

I would predict that this time round the election turnout will be somewhere in the range of 40 percent or possibly even less.

[Kwasniewska] Presumably a lot will again depend on the candidates' methods and tactics in running their respective campaigns, will it not?

[Jasiewicz] Yes. The two weeks between the rounds are very important. And, as we know from past experience, two weeks is quite sufficient to alter things quite substantially. If, say, a highly interesting television debate is broadcast now, or a new issue comes to the electorate's attention, the public interest in the election could increase and this could, in turn, influence the election turnout.

It is also possible, however, that both candidates have already fired all their ammunition in the first round and that their campaign now will assume a more monotonous character, thus failing to galvanize people into voting.

[Kwasniewska] Is it likely that this potential, "passive" group of voters who did not go to the polls in the first round could become more dynamic now?

[Jasiewicz] No. This is because they represent the apolitical contingent. This was, in any case, attested to by the turnout figures of 62 percent in the last parliamentary election and 42 percent in the local self-government election. This time the turnout was comparable to the 1989 figure: 60 percent. This means that one-third of the electorate is not at all interested in politics, refuses to vote in the election, and does not want to participate in any kind of decisionmaking. This is, in any case, typical of any democratic society.

[Kwasniewska] How do you expect the losers' supporters to react now?

[Jasiewicz] It is probable that the people who voted for the four "losers" will shift their position somewhat. In each case, a significant proportion of the voters will most probably stay at home. This is most highly likely in the case of all those who voted for Leszek Moczulski. Roman Bartoszcze supporters can be expected to turn to Walesa rather than Tyminski, while those who voted for Cimoszewicz will probably support Tyminski now. And there is still the great unknown factor: Tadeusz Mazowiecki's electoral supporters. After all, it was from Mazowiecki that Tyminski snatched the largest number of votes. The question is whether there are still some people there who, despite having voted for Mazowiecki in the first round, can find the Tyminski option attractive enough.

We must also remember that the "Solidarity factor" is still very strong here. Those people are still strongly attached to their ideals. This idea is, in any case, present in a discreetly veiled form in the declaration issued by the Tadeusz Mazowiecki Election Campaign Committee: a subtly worded avowal that, when it comes to choosing between two evils, they will strike out the name of the candidate representing the greater evil. They say, in other words: "We want neither of the two candidates but, after all, Walesa does represent the Solidarity ideals and, furthermore, we must stop Tyminski in his ominous and sinister progress.

If Walesa realizes that it is in his interest to coax the Mazowiecki campaign staff to his side (for if he fails to do this, he could find himself in great difficulties and lose the election), his chances will improve. If he persists in sulking about those who voted for Mazowiecki, he will lose the electorate's sympathy and his potential voters will either stay home or go to the polls to vote for Tyminski.

[Kwasniewska] What do you think will constitute the winning campaign line this time round?

[Jasiewicz] At this stage it is high time for real policy programs to be presented by the candidates. This means that the contest should be between different policy arguments in addition to the duel between the two personalities. Let me be blunt: Neither candidate is strong in this area. However, it seems to me that Walesa is more likely to present a clear formulation of certain elements of his future program—if only because of his experience of politics and the political scene over the past 10 years. Moreover, he is a "local boy" with a perfect understanding of the Polish scene.

[Kwasniewska] It remains to hope that no one chooses to use unfair tactics to manipulate public emotions, does it not?

[Jasiewicz] Yes, it does. For the time being, the result of the second election round is still an open question. To date, Tyminski has failed to present his program. If a debate on the candidates' respective programs does take place, he will find himself in a very difficult position. This is because, apart from general promises, as yet he has proposed no tangible options. He is probably banking on being able to continue encouraging the trend which has helped him win votes so far—that is, to keep appearing on television and making promises to win popularity among the viewers. But by now this trick will not fool anyone. In any case, he has already eliminated from the contest the candidate against whom he made the gravest accusations. I expect that he will pull out heavy artillery against Walesa, too, and accuse him of having become a part of the establishment and leading a life of luxury at the public's expense, and so on, and so forth.

In general, though, the second round of the presidential election is a great unknown which, in turn, incorporates two other unknown values. The last word will belong to our society.

Mazowiecki Chairs Council of Minister's Session

LD1112030790 Warsaw PAP in English 2334 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 10—Chaired by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Council of Ministers convened here today to adopt a report on the operation of the government to be later submitted to the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish parliament).

The Sejm is expected to consider the document on December 3 prior to accepting a prime minister's motion to dissolve the present council of ministers.

Army Newspaper Assesses Recent Cheney Visit

AU1012213390 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 6 Dec 90 p 1

["(P.Z.)"-signed commentary: "A Brief Visit's Format"]

[Text] A few comments should be made about the 24-hour visit that the Pentagon chief, Richard Cheney, has just paid. The very fact that this was the first visit by the head of the U.S. Defense Department in postwar history is already of symbolic importance. It has only now become possible to talk about our relations, covering the entire spectrum, with the pre-eminent Western power. The political and economic thaw has now been complemented by the element of direct military relations. This is undoubtedly an expression of change and of recognition for the changes that have taken place in our country.

Moreover, these facts do not include any spectacular gestures. It marks, however, a genuine return to the realities of Polish foreign policy and of remaining on close terms with everyone. We should also note that the abandonment of the opportunistic approach that we once advocated (I am not going into on whose initiative this was) opens the way to normality, to partnership between the large and the small, to mutual understanding, cooperation, and even to the construction of a framework for confidence.

Suddenly everything has become possible, even in as sensitive an area as defense.

It was an important visit, although the pragmatist may ask about the concrete results that it produced. He will not find any, because there are none to be found, but the visit's format impacts on the entire range of Polish-U.S. relations, and it does so in a completely positive way. Following the course of the visit, I got the impression that these positive elements matter to both sides. So, concrete results will emerge, although they might not necessarily be in the military sphere, but that is also not to be excluded.

Meetings with all important personalities in our sociopolitical life are proof of keen interest in Polish affairs on the part of the U.S. Government. After all, R. Cheney is not only head of a ministry, but also a member of the U.S. Government. His visit to Poland should also be viewed from this angle. This kind of interest, in the positive meaning of the word, is something that our country needs at the present time. This is all the more important as over the past few months we started to receive reports about the "bad press" that we are beginning to get in the West. After all, our country's standing cannot be a matter of indifference to anyone. So, it is a good thing that the Army is also actively contributing to the country's positive standing. Besides, that is the way it should be.

The format of the short visit is also linked to security issues, agreement on these issues, and support or understanding for the positions that were presented. It is true that no joint communique was issued, but was is that essential? What appears to be of much greater significance is dialogue, which has been established in a direct manner. This is something that both sides said that they welcomed. Security is, unfortunately, a fabric which can only be woven jointly in an atmosphere of satisfaction. Sudden movements only tear the thread. What we have done is to form a Polish-American thread. Now, we only have weave.

Visa Requirement Relaxed for German Citizens

LD1012210690 Hamburg DPA in German 1844 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text) Warsaw (DPA)—German citizens will not need a visa for travel to Poland as from 1 January next year. As the Polish Foreign Ministry announced on Monday, this applies to stays up to three months. In making this decision, the Foreign Ministry was guided by the belief that, in line with the declaration of intent by the German Government, the visa requirement for Poles traveling to Germany will be lifted at around the same time.

The decision was an act of goodwill and confirmed Poland's efforts to achieve good-neighborly relations with Germany in the interests of both countries. Up to the end of this year, only former citizens of the GDR may travel visa-free to Poland.

Drivers' Trade Union Continues Protests 10 Dec

Strike To Be Held 11 Dec; Iliescu To Mediate

AU1012170290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] ROMPRES announces that this morning that President Ion Iliescu received a delegation of the Fratia [Brotherhood] Trade Union Federation and of the Drivers' Trade Union led by Mr. Miron Mitrea. After the meeting, Mr. Mitrea made the following statement to the press:

In our desire to find a mediator in the current conflict between the trade unions and the government, we had a talk today with the president, who pledged to become a mediator. We will hold roundtable talks on Tuesday, at 1000 hours [0800 GMT], with the participation of the government and various the trade union groups, including the Drivers' Trade Union which has gone on strike as of today. President Iliescu will act as mediator in solving this conflict, which is not to the benefit of the country. This conflict broke out because the government has left no doors open in the talks with the trade unions, particularly the Drivers Trade Union. As for now, the demonstration has begun; a rally is taking place today, and the general strike is scheduled to start tomorrow. The decision to end this strike can only be made by the Trade Unions' General Council. This issue will only be examined after tomorrow's roundtable discussion at 1000 hours. Everything will depend on the way in which this conflict, which is very pressing right now, will be resolved. Unfortunately, we can say that most trade unions and the Fratia Confederation had left the joint commission organized at the governmental level, for reasons which are easy to understand. We no longer accepted a consultative role. We want a commission where we can talk to the government, because there is no employers' organization in Romania with which the trade unions can negotiate. Right now, to defend the rights of trade union members, we must negotiate with the sole de facto employer, (?that is the government.) In various consultative commissions, we [word indistinct] and conducted consultations, but did not negotiate. We must negotiate all laws regarding the trade unions and strikes. The Parliament is currently debating other draft laws. Consequently, that period was but a waste of time, the statement of Mr. Miron Mitrea, chairman of the Drivers' Trade Union, concludes.

Strike Ultimatum Issued

AU1012175690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Dec 90 p 5

[The National Council of the Drivers' Trade Union signed note: "We Call for the Government's Resignation"]

[Text] The National Council of the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania held an extraordinary meeting on 6 December 1990 to examine the way in which the Romanian Government decided to answer the petition submitted on 17 November 1990 and noted the following:

The Romanian Government continuously refuses to hold a sincere and constructive dialogue with trade unions to jointly find ways to reduce the state of conflict that emerged after the government decided to increase prices; the government is only attempting to pull itself out of the economic and financial crisis by means which affect the employees pocket, thus leading the population into unprecedented poverty.

The promise made by the government not to increase prices without ensuring necessary social protection was a communist-type maneuver to steady the spirits after the first price increase carried out by the government after the revolution—that is, the increase of the gasoline and fuel prices.

The attempt by the Drivers' Trade Union to hold a dialogue with the decisionmakers in the government in the 17 November-5 December 1990 period and to find a negotiable way to solve the advanced petition, was met by the government's same "openness" toward dialogue and negotiations.

Under these conditions, when the government refuses dialogue, the National Council of the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania decided:

1. To start a national general strike, as of 10 December 1990.
2. To continue the general strike of the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania for an unlimited period of time, until the following problems are solved:

a.—the resignation of the current government and the creation of a national unity government;

b.—the dismissal of the management of the economic units and county and local administration bodies, which are compromised and their replacement—on democratic bases—with those who indeed represent the spirit of the 22 December 1989 revolution;

To ensure the people's supply, the means of transportation which ensure the transportation of:

—bread
—milk
—supply of nurseries, day care centers, hospitals, student cafeterias, and old people's homes
—ambulance

will not go on strike.

The Drivers' Trade Union of Romania calls for the solidarity of all trade unions of Romania and calls on each trade union to begin a general strike in support of our trade unions' claims.

The National Council of the Drivers' Trade Union of Romania

Government's Resignation Demanded

AU1012214290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2051 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—The drivers' general strike commenced today at 14:00 hours with a rally in Bucharest's Piata Aviatorilor [Aviators' Square], staged by the Drivers' Union of Romania. In attendance were also representatives of "Fratia" [Brotherhood] Trade Union Confederation, the "Hercules" Confederation, the Inter-Union Alliance, the Convention of the Non- Affiliated Trade Unions, the Students' League of the Polytechnic Institute in Bucharest, the Romanian Television Free Union, who asserted their adherence to the claims of the Drivers' Union.

Addressing the participants, confederation and union representatives insisted that the strike was spurred by the government's refusal to negotiate with the unions.

They demanded that the present government should resign and be replaced by a national union coalition, that economic unit managers and county and local administration executives with a tarnished reputation should be dismissed and replaced by people elected to meet the spirit of the 22 December 1989 revolution.

Drivers Union leader Miron Mitrea said, among other things "What we need is a government ready to understand the people's needs, not a government moved by political ambitions. At the meeting we had today we were told the country was in a very difficult situation, but we consider that the present government is responsible for the famine in this country. We have called this meeting and we shall go on strike until what we want to be done is done."

Concluding, Mr. Mitrea specified that the drivers' strike begun today would last until the outcome is known of tomorrow's union-government negotiations, mediated by President Iliescu. If the negotiations fail to give satisfaction as expected, then, said Mr. Mitrea, the capital shall be isolated by the four convoys consisting of TIP-lorries and other heavy-duty motor-vehicles placed at the main penetration avenues, with effect from Tuesday, 11 November, 18:00 hours.

Catalin Croitoru, leader of the Pre-Academic Education Union, affiliated to "Fratia", announced a general strike of all teachers in this country with effect from 12 December 1990, under the pretext that no dialogue with the minister of education has been possible for the improvement of the working conditions for this important social segment.

After the meeting staged in Piata Aviatorilor by several TU centrals, about two thousand citizens present at the event made for the city's centre. They blocked the traffic road in University Square.

Time passing, the number of those who occupied the area decreased sensibly and spread while the order-keeping forces came around. No incident [was] produced.

Demonstrations, Rallies Continue 10 Dec

'Fratia' Holds Demonstration

AU1012193890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—A few thousand people had gathered Monday afternoon in Piata Aviatorilor [Aviators' Square] of Bucharest waiting for the commencement of a rally summoned by the "Fratia" [Brotherhood] Trade Union Confederation. Representatives of the "Hercules" and "Consenerg" Union Confederations, of the Inter-Union Alliance and of non-affiliated unions were also present.

Vehicles were lining [up] along the right side of the main avenues converging into Piata Aviatorilor.

It appears Nica Leon's Free Democratic Party is also represented at the meeting, which is scheduled to end in a march in the streets of Bucharest.

Drivers Rally in Constanta, Iasi

AU1012211290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2029 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—The local branch of the Drivers Union of Romania signalled the beginning of their strike, Monday, 10 December, in a march starting from "The Harbour" Stadium in Constanta. More than 300 motor-vehicles, lorries of various capacities, crane-trucks, buses and vans marshalled through the town's districts and eventually made for their depots determined to stay there until the claims they submitted to the government are satisfied.

Monday afternoon, a protest rally was staged by the local construction and building materials unions in front of the City Hall.

The rally did not end before the Iasi Prefecture representatives had given assurances that all the problems raised by the union would be forwarded to the government.

Iliescu Receives Alfa, Other Trade Union Leaders

AU1012214690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2056 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—Trade Union [TU] leaders from various production enterprises in Bucharest had Monday afternoon an interview with Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

A dialogue was held on the occasion on the country's current socioeconomic situation.

Reference was made to the TU members' concerns over certain measures taken by the government for price liberalization. The TU leaders expressed their discontent at the ways of promoting and adopting normative acts directly linked to production activities and TU members' security without their being consulted.

Mr. Ion Iliescu was appreciative of the TU movement's wish to involve itself in the country's affairs, and mentioned that the unions had to conjugate their efforts and become an active factor in the country's economic and political stability. The president referred to certain measures which should be adopted so as to eliminate the current imbalance which, owing to the shortage of commodities and to soaring prices, was conducive to the emergence of the black market, profiteering and corruption.

The president's dialogue with TU movement representatives continued during an interview with members of the "Alfa" TU leadership.

Social security, legislation and the economic reform, privatization variants, the negative phenomena still persisting in the social life, bureaucracy and the measures to be taken for the country's economic recovery were topics in the focus of the dialogue.

Roman, TU Officials View Social Protection Issues

AU1012193190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1832 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—Prime Minister Petre Roman met Monday, 10 December, representatives of the National Confederation of the Romanian Free Trade Unions (NCRFT) [CNSLR].

During the interview, NCRFT leaders requested the government to discuss with trade union leaders those draft laws that concern social welfare and, generally, trade union activities. To that effect, it was established that the joint government-trade union commission should convene next Thursday.

The NCRFT representatives also had talks with state minister Ion Aurel Stoica, in charge of the quality of life and social welfare.

Amendments, Other Measures Viewed

AU1012211190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2038 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—A seven-hour dialogue took place at the government's headquarters on December 10 between members of the Presidium of the General Council of the National Free Trade Unions Confederation of Romania and a governmental team made up of Messrs. Ion Aurel Stoica, minister of state in charge of the quality of life and social security, Catalin Zamfir, minister of labour and social security, as well as secretaries of state—department chiefs in various ministries.

During the dialogue, attended for two hours by Prime Minister Petre Roman, it was agreed upon that the government should find out legal ways for the inclusion of amendments to be covenanted by the joint government-trade unions commission on the bills regarding the organization of trade unions, labour contracts, the settlement of labour conflicts and unemployment assistance. The government undertook to set measures for a unitary application of legal dispositions by ministries, prefectures and economic agents, to hold joint discussion, that is, with trade unions, of privatization projects, programmes and techniques and for the recovery of economic activities in enterprises, to work so as to identify foreign partners and assist the units in their negotiations with them.

It was also agreed upon that the government and the trade unions should make a survey of the optimal ways of ensuring social security either through salary indexation or through direct negotiations on the granting of salary rises following the growing life cost, and take urgent measures conducive to stopping the tendency of unjustifiably raising prices in the economy given the application of disloyal practices by economic agents in setting the prices.

On the same occasion, other social security measures also debated.

PUNR Wants Support for Democracy, Ensured Unity

AU1012171090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1331 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/12/1990—In a communique sent to ROMPRES, the Steering Council of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] "noting the ever more obvious general process of destabilization following the emergence of so-called civic and antitotalitarian forums and alliances the activity of which proves to be antidemocratic, antistatal and antinational" calls on all the citizens of the country, no matter their ethnic origin, political or religious beliefs, to back Romania's democratization, safeguard the unity and integrity of the Romanian territory, the Romanians' national being, the values of the December 1989 revolution.

Minister Severin Holds News Conference

AU1112102290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0907 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—Mr. Adrian Severin, minister, prime minister's assistant for reform and relationship with Parliament, now in Timisoara, participated in a press conference when he informed the journalists present there about current questions of the Romanian economy, emphasizing the government's

wish to have broad contacts with all collectivities, with trade union organizations, with scientists, with men of letters and art, with teaching staff as well as with other representatives of the social and political life.

Mr. Adrian Severin also met with trade union leaders of Timisoara enterprises and discussed specific issues. He had interviews, too, with university teaching staff, scientists, representatives of the county prefecture.

Iliescu Gives Television Speech 7 Dec

AU0812194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1819 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/12/1990—President Ion Iliescu of Romania went on air on Friday evening enlarging upon a moment of great political significance for the Romanian people the anniversary of December 1 as Romania's national day for the first time in its history.

The president said the positive aspects of the preparation and unfolding of the respective event had been the consensus of Parliament and of political groupings on the proclamation of December 1 as Romania's national day and the application of a programme of actions to mark that event.

The festivities in Alba Iulia, the president said, acquired the scope of a true national assembly, reminding of the historic act of 1918.

Mr. Iliescu was also appreciative of the addresses made during the rally which, he said, were all constructive. The president expressed regret over the fact that "not all those addresses were listened to attentively by the entire audience. There had been disconsonant events prior to the festivity, such as the meeting sponsored by the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party in Bucharest on November 30 or the meeting of the Civic Alliance in Bucharest, too, when aggressive, anti-governmental and anti-presidential slogans were chanted.

In Alba Iulia, too, the president said, there were isolated groups trying to disturb the meeting from the very beginning. Moreover, three speakers were interrupted by loud noises coming from people in the audience. All this is regrettable, as it cast shadow on a moment of great national solemnity.

That is why, I was the first to blame them.

However, the president added, I find the distortions in the press and in the stances taken by some political groupings even more serious. Justified blaming of regrettable acts turned into a pretext for a new campaign of verbal violence, incrimination, calumny and groundless accusations leveled at political decision-makers who allegedly provoked and prepared such acts. Which is downright aberrant. That is why, I think a lucid, responsible approach to all issues is necessary, all while overcoming otherwise human resentment.

Let us not stain a major political event in the life of the country with exaggerations of incidents, let us make concerted efforts to reestablish mutual confidence and a climate of understanding, the president also stressed.

Mr. Iliescu also referred to attempts on the part of groups and mass media to place the social climate under strain and escalate violence in the Romanian society. There has been a campaign zealously sustained by the newspaper "ROMANIA LIBERA" and other publications, he said, including denigrating, slanderous slogans, put in violent language, against the government and against the newly-elected state institutions, all while the people's ballot has been ignored. There have been threats and there have been calls to overthrow the power by force. This course of events is undemocratic and highly dangerous and might push the Romanian society back into chaos, towards anarchy and the reign of the arbitrary. Instigating slogans such as "Another Revolution This Is the Last Solution" are irresponsible slogans, Mr. Iliescu pointed out. It is a direct denial of the December revolution, a denial of the course towards democracy in Romania.

Continuing his address, Mr. Iliescu enlarged upon the power's efforts in the more than eleven months since the revolution to organize society on democratic bases, to the measures conducive to a market economy, as well as to the steps taken to improve living conditions for large segments of the population, and pointed out that the country still encountered many difficulties, which cannot be overcome in too short a time.

Under these circumstances, the president said, the state of tension, mistrust and suspicion, as well as the direct incitation to acts of violence are extremely harmful. The pressure exerted by small though highly aggressive groups, the calls to actions to overthrow the legal power by force, as well as the involvement of a number of trade unions in actions aimed at stopping work, transport and the energy and gas supply and the attempt to use the trade union movement in general for political purposes deteriorate the already difficult situation in this country.

The president called on all political forces, on all social organizations, on the press and mass media in general urging them to show a sense of civic responsibility, to place national interests above group interests and personal ambitions.

The president also called on all citizens urging them not to get involved into harmful, provocative actions and to isolate the individuals who try to disturb the social climate and to take advantage of the difficulties facing the country for purposes that are alien from national interests.

The president called on all responsible forces asking them to ensure a climate favourable for the anniversary of one year since the December revolution.

Deputies' Assembly Discusses Jobs Bill 7 Dec

AU0712214190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1941 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/12/1990—During the December 7 session of the Assembly of Deputies, the bill on cumulated jobs was debated upon. The bill takes into consideration the current need for highly trained specialists in all fields of activity which requires making best use of the existing potential. A possible way is that one person be allowed to take two or more jobs at a time and earn a salary for each.

On the same day, Liviu Muresan, leader of the National Salvation Front parliamentary group in the Assembly of Deputies, referring to the recent incidents at the television [studio], proposed disciplinary measures. His point of view was not shared by other speakers.

Several deputies addressed the chamber on behalf of the National Liberal Party, the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, the parliamentary group of the Romanians' National Union and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] who voiced the wish of the groups they represented in the Assembly of Deputies for an honest and constructive collaboration in solving the country's major problems and denied rumors about the opposition's alleged intention to quit Parliament pursuing the country's destabilization.

Mr. Doru Viorel Ursu, minister of the interior, informed about the tourist traffic from both the East and the West these days. The figures he supplied prove the number of Romanian and foreign citizens travelling into and out of the country is normal and that the process is firmly under control by both the Ministry of the Interior and customs officials.

In reply to certain comments about the activity and intentions of Bishop Laszlo Tokes now back in Romania, Mr. Francisc Baranyi, a deputy representing the UDMR group, read a protest by the pastor against a number of viewpoints, attitudes and opinions untruthfully put on his account by certain publications. He expressed his confidence that the Romanian people would overcome all difficulties through calm and wisdom.

Session Resumes 10 Dec

AU1012205690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1959 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—The Assembly of Deputies resumed its works in plenum Monday afternoon.

The session approved this week's agenda which includes several normative acts and bills like those regarding cumulated positions. The organization and functioning of ministries, and trade unions.

Mr. Marian Enache, deputy speaker, made a statement on the incident at the television, saying inter alia: The Romanian Television is part and parcel of the Romanian revolution and we want it not to debase its virtues in our memory.

All those who want to make a militant policy must join a party and not turn the television into a live space of personal ripostes and of orientation toward a certain political platform.

Mr. Marian Enache proposed that, when the law of regulating activities in audio-visual institutions was to be passed, a national audiovisual council should be set up like in other democratic countries and exercise its attributions in the domain just like the ones in the civilized countries.

The Assembly of Deputies debated and adopted the bills regarding cumulated positions and the conclusion and ratification of treaties.

Bishop Tokes Queried on 'Nationwide Provocation'

LD0712233790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Telephone interview with Bishop Laszlo Tokes by Miklos Lengyel; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] You could already hear Laszlo Tokes, bishop of Oradea, who appealed to the world's public opinion today in "Midday Chronicle." This time our colleague Miklos Lengyel telephoned the bishop at his home.

[Tokes] [passage omitted] Now, however, regarding the first anniversary, I have to speak by all means for peaceful celebration—that is, the Romanian people coming together in the spirit of the memory of the revolution. It is being threatened by a large-scale nationwide provocation aimed particularly at the Hungarian minority and its leaders. It would not be right if we were taken in by such propaganda and inciting, deceptive, and diversionary campaign.

[Lengyel] Have you had any personal connection with the Romanian leadership in which you personally objected to the charges raised against you and tried to change the situation in some way?

[Tokes] These connections have been interrupted. This time I was thinking of phoning Defense Minister Stanculescu, who had shown plenty of goodwill. Similarly, I could speak to Mr. Iliescu with whom I have had good relations as well, and ask for their protection, of which, I think, there is also a need when someone can inflame the passions so much, or at least they are trying to do so.

Former King Invited To Attend Revolution Ceremony

AU0912140490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] Former King Mihai has been invited to Timisoara by the opposition groups in Romania on the occasion of the commemoration of one year since the [December] revolution.

* Civic Alliance Open Letter to Officials

91P20039B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Nov 90 p 8

[Open Letter of Civic Alliance to the Government of Romania and the Parliament]

[Text] The residents of Bucharest, assembled in a meeting organized by the Civic Alliance in celebration of the third anniversary of the workers' revolt in Brasov, the prelude to the December 1989 Revolution, call your attention to the following: The workers in Brasov, participants in the open revolt in 1987 and sentenced to prison and deportation after the revolt was put down, have not yet received recognition of their rights as fighters for the revolution. Even today, they still belong to the category of former detainees under common law and do not benefit from the material rights which they lost during the period of their demotion and deportation.

Just like them, the majority of fighters against totalitarianism and tyranny are marginalized, while their former hangmen, unpunished and active in the political life of the country, continue to repress them. The functionaries of the old apparatus of repression have been reintegrated into the new institutions before a thorough analysis of their activity was carried out and before it was established who committed abuses and who did not, thus giving them an opportunity to wipe their slates clean and to proceed to levelling out their faults. There was even a post mortem slandering of the heroes of the Revolution, so that, by lessening their importance, the importance of the crime which caused them to lose their lives will disappear. If the fighters in the December barricades—those who made possible not only the end of the tyranny but also the May elections—do not accept the occult compromise with the power structure, they are suspected, persecuted and considered to be elements which are destabilizing society.

In this way, 11 months after the Revolution, Romania seems to be a country with a reversed morality, in which the former acolytes of the dictatorship and opportunists are giving lessons on good behavior to those who fought against them. By accepting those compromised people as allies, the present government is only compromising itself and convincing us that we are witnessing a restoration of the old structures, a skidding, more and more uncontrollable, toward a new dictatorship.

At this time, as everyone recognizes, the country is passing to the edge of chaos, through a process of confusion and distrust. Noting that numerous components of the old government have kept their positions, people who would be able to contribute to the recovery are more and more resigned and timid. Some leave the country and others become passive. The immense potential of the hopes of December has been diminishing until it disappeared. The economic reforms which are so necessary are no longer finding human material which can give them life. Conservative elements are doing all they can to obstruct the transformations or to cause confusion about them. Since they were not prepared and explained in time and, what is more important, since the idea of reforms was demagogically discredited during the election campaign, today's reforms evoke distrust and run the risk of compromising the very idea of reform, in the eyes of a population which is disoriented and faced with misery.

We believe that the effect of reform in the economy cannot be achieved before the other truths of public life are stated. We believe that before asking for the cooperation—which is not easy and is full of sacrifices—of the people in the economic transformation of the country, we must tell them the entire truth about the crucial and disturbing moments of our recent history: the events in Timisoara, Cluj, Sibiu, Bucharest, and other cities in December, the events in Tirgu Mures in March, and the events in Bucharest in June. Only after an honest and sincere response is given to all these questions which have been poisoning the Romanian conscience during recent months and only after the elimination of the corrupt and conservative elements which cultivate lies and ambiguity for their own use will the persons in power prove that they want to and are able to serve a people who, at this time, lack the certitude of dissociation from the past. Only in this way can the persons elected in May be regarded as the bearers of a legitimacy which is based on the ideas of December and on the sacrifices which made them possible.

* Plea for Dissolution of Political Police

91P20039C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Nov 90 p 1

[Sorin Rosca-Stanescu article: "The Dissolution of the Political Police"]

[Text] Civil society can successfully fight for the basic freedoms of mankind only if the organs which comprise it have well-defined objectives. Their fulfillment requires intelligence, inventiveness, realism, dynamism and, first of all, an impeccable organization. Initiatives from the citizens can be carried through only under conditions in which there is mutual support. This is why the Civic Alliance, which was recently established, is a structure which is greatly needed by the entire Romanian society, so that chaos, intolerance, totalitarian inertia, violence and disinformation will be gradually replaced by the values of trust, humanism, and democracy. Since I was out of the country at the historic moment when the

Civic Alliance was established, I am requesting, insistently, that I be received in the ranks of its founding members.

But this is not the main purpose of my open letter. The "Statement of Principles" of the Civic Alliance stresses that the Alliance "takes a stand against all forms of violence, including the threat to use violence." In each one of the countries in Eastern Europe and Central Europe, the leitmotif of the struggle to create democratic values and institutions has been the dissolution of the political police. Until the Securitate, regardless of what it is called, which, as an organized and specialized force, is in opposition to the establishment of a state of law and of democratic values, is destroyed once and for all as an institution (except for espionage and counterespionage), leaders of political parties and organizations in civil society, as well as citizens, will be under surveillance, threatened, and hunted, and organized disinformation and subversion will block any initiative which leads to liberty. In each one of the neighboring countries which (for this very reason) are ahead of us in the democratization process, a ferocious struggle was waged to destroy the structures of the political police. In each one of these countries, the equivalent of the Securitate camouflaged itself, protected itself and was active as long as its mechanisms could not be dismantled and brought to the attention of public opinion.

The climate of violence and of tension in Romania is due, to a decisive extent, to the Securitate, which can have no other role than that of serving totalitarian structures and trends, no matter what its name might be. On the other hand, it is clear (and I believe that there is no one naive enough to imagine that Romania is an exception) that some of the Securitate officers are KGB officers or collaborators. This is another reason why the continued existence of a political police threatens our national being. The same state of confusion and of disinformation existed until the secret police disappeared. There was a fierce struggle and it was not led by the people in the government. In each one of these countries the equivalent of the Securitate was dissolved by the organizations of civil society, by the citizens themselves. In East Germany, which is the clearest example, citizens committees were formed which—appealing to the population—rapidly ferreted out all the members of the Stasi, located the headquarters of the monstrous institution, the safehouses, the telephone monitoring stations, the archives, the computer data processing centers. Citizens' committees also occupied headquarters and bunkers, in a concerted action. Later, a state committee was established for this purpose.

I believe that the first and principal objective of the Civic Alliance is to bring together the actions of all component organizations and of all members and branches which are organized in this direction. In this way, the entire action of civil society will be thwarted. I propose THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COORDINATING CENTER IN THE CIVIC ALLIANCE WHICH WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL POLICE. I propose that the names of the members of the coordinating center be made public, along with the location of its headquarters and the telephone numbers where the citizens can reach these members. I am appealing to specialists in the Army and in the police to give us their assistance. The results of the studies will be brought to the attention of the public, through the press.

* Republican Party Head on Government Record

91BA0102C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 8 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Republican Party President Ion Minzatu by Andrei Alexandru; place and date not given]

[Text] [Alexandru] What is your opinion about the activities of the government installed after the elections?

[Minzatu] We distinguish between two phases: The first was marked by the euphoria of the appointment of ministers, and the second by confrontation with reality. The promises made months ago by the same prime minister are impossible to fulfill. After a rather short period of time it became clear that not all of those appointed to leadership positions were suitable, and the proof of that was the massive departmental reshuffle. I hope that some of the ministers will also be replaced soon. I don't deny the good intentions and good faith of most of the ministers, but none of them had sufficient managerial experience to coordinate such important sectors at a time like this.

As for the implementation of the reform, I told Mr. Petre Roman that the Romanian economy had to be first diagnosed, and for that I think we should have brought in teams of foreign experts. Our people cannot be ofmuch help, not because they're not talented, but because the isolation imposed by the old regime doomed them to backwardness. Another negative aspect is that many competent leaders were ousted in the name of democracy, under the pretext that X or Y didn't receive a permission slip or didn't get some bonus or other. In connection with the promotion policy, the government issued a decision banning people over the age of 45 from leadership positions. I think this is a blunder reminiscent of the thesis of promoting women, which had become an end in itself. There is no such thing anywhere else in the world.

[Alexandru] What do you think about President Iliescu's activities?

[Minzatu] Mr. Iliescu is doubly isolated: first by his physical location, and secondly by the team of advisers surrounding him. With one or two exceptions, however much anger this may attract against me, the team is incompetent, and I say this advisedly. I also want to add that were the president to overcome certain reservations due to a false perception of the situation, and were he to have the courage to admit a lot of things he was told,

then he would look differently. In such a case Silviu Brucan would probably not have said what he did on television and the domestic and foreign press criticism would not have been so vehement.

[Alexandru] Is it possible that Mr. Iliescu is not revealing certain things in order to preserve the balance?

[Minzatu] I am in favor of equilibrium, too, but I realized that the events of December, January, February, March, and June were staged and were planned as diversions. I believe that airing the truth is the only way to maintain a balance. Just like U.S. presidents don't hesitate to answer the most difficult questions, I think that our president can do a lot to change things, I attribute such reservations to the fact that we still don't have the courage to believe that an admitted truth is much more valuable than all the efforts made to conceal it.

[Alexandru] What is your view of the "rift" between the intellectuals and the others?

[Minzatu] Many intellectuals have stepped aside and are in a waiting mode, especially after the shouts of 'Death to the intellectuals!' Personally I am convinced that the initiative did not come from the workers of the Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise. They were manipulated by people with precise purposes in mind.

There is also something else. I think that the intellectuals are negligent [as published]. Corruption and racketeering have recently broken out. Some people became rich overnight without producing anything. Intellectuals will never be able to make one hundredth of what such worthless people can make now that they've been unmuzzled.

We have no law that encourages competence or intellectual creativity.

[Alexandru] And what do you think about the activities of the trade unions?

[Minzatu] Currently the trade unions are substituting for the administrative managements of many enterprises. Trade union leaders don't even work anymore. 'I don't have to work because I represent the interests of those who elected me.' Enterprise managements can practically no longer exercise their functions. I don't think there is any other country in which the trade unions can poke their noses into everything, and the reason is that some of the trade union leaders are not the best suited for the job. They climbed to the top and are minding their own interests. That is another legacy of communism.

[Alexandru] Would you have liked to be prime minister at this time?

[Minzatu] God keep you from being the prime minister at this time, because all the thunder and lightning are on your head. I think that by now Mr. Petre Roman has gained enough experience to devise the best solutions. Now he must grab the bull by the horns, take care of all the promises made that cannot be fulfilled, and resolutely begin to implement the reform.

[Alexandru] Thank you, Professor.

Development Bank Opens in Bucharest

AU0712175790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/12/1990—The Romanian Bank for Development was created in Romania after taking over the assets and liabilities of the Investment Bank, which was dissolved. The new bank is a company limited by shares.

As for the activity of the new banking institution, its president, Mr. Marian Crisan, said it was not a mere change of name but a deep-going transformation as the former investment bank had been a specialized institution holding a certain monopoly, while the Romanian Bank for Development was universal in character, it was a commercial bank and a bank for development.

The bank will affect banking operations and services for the state's economic and financial investment projects, will attract money, will grant credits in lei and in hard currency, and will perform banking services for investment, production and commercial activities as well as for services in autonomous units, commercial companies, joint companies and others.

The bank's nominal capital stands at five billion lei and its paid-up nominal capital is worth 2.6 million lei.

* Finance Official on Price Liberalization

91BA0129B Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 18 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Finance Ministry's Ioan Rahau by Paula Iordache; place and date not given]

[Text]

[Iordache] The government issued a decision for the transition to general price liberalization. What role does this decision envisage for the Finance Ministry?

[Rahau] The government empowered the Department for Price Forecasting, Monitoring, and Liberalization of the Finance Ministry to set and adjust prices and tariffs through negotiations with economic agents in the case of products and services temporarily subsidized from the state budget and in situations in which there are yet no conditions for real competition. Similarly, any differences that may arise will be arbitrated by the Ministry of Finance.

[Iordache] What measures have been established to ensure real social protection for the population?

[Rahau] As is known, the prices and tariffs for electrical and thermal power, rents, heating and cooking fuel, and

urban and interurban passenger transportation will not be changed. The price difference for those products and services will be footed by the state budget. Also, the impact on the new retail prices and tariffs of basic food staples and vital industrial consumer commodities and services—clothes, knitwear, children's footwear, school books, notebooks, and supplies, drugs, and medical services—which will not be changed for one year, will be compensated by a fixed monthly allowance paid either by the units where people are employed, or from the budget, according to case.

[Iordache] What does "according to case" mean?

[Rahau] This kind of compensations will be paid to employees in units run with state or budget capital, as well as to recipients of unemployment relief, state social security pensioners, war invalids, orphans, and widows, and the wives of enlisted men, who will receive social aid.

[Iordache] Will there nevertheless be an index of price and tariff increase for the products and services whose prices and tariffs will float freely—even too freely, without any "medium band scale?"

[Rahau] The foreseeable average index of price and tariff increase—which will serve as the basis for indexing wages and pensions—will be calculated quarterly by the Ministries of Finance, Commerce and Tourism, and Labor and Social Protection. The level of compensations and the index to which wages and pensions will be linked will be approved by the government.

[Iordache] In spite of this breeze of freedom that is "billowing" the prices, does there still exist a price control system, a system of encouraging loyal competition and combating black market and monopoly prices, and of punishing violations and abuses of any kind?

[Rahau] Even at negotiations it's been noted that enterprises tend to jack up prices by incorrectly assessing consumption, labor time, worth, and useful value of products. Manufacturers are ignoring one major fact, namely that we can live only as well as we work. And that the time has come to sell well what was made well. I think it must be known that economic agents are obligated to inform buyers of prices and tariffs through catalogues or lists of prices, to mark or write prices on products at sales outlets, and to visibly post prices. Economic agents are definitely obligated to observe the prices quoted in contracts. The National Commission for Statistics together with the Department for Price Forecasting, Monitoring, and Liberalization of the Finance Ministry will be in charge of calculating and publishing price and tariff indexes and following the evolution of prices and tariffs. The price setting process, the correct implementation of prices and tariffs, and measures to punish violations will be carried out by the Finance Ministry through its central and regional specialized bodies.

[Carlan] We thank you and we hope that we will all give value for the price and will... price values right.

AZR Accuses TV of Distorting Information

AU0712114190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Communique of the Association of Romanian Journalists: The 11th Hour for Television"]

[Text] The Association of Romanian Journalists [AZR] has repeatedly drawn attention to the particularly serious situation of Romanian Television whose management is guilty of systematically distorting information, thereby endangering the country's democratization process. Censorship, which was reintroduced by television only one year after the December revolution, has become a topical issue because of the organization—under the command of Razvan Theodorescu and Emanuel Valeriu—of the incidents on 13 June this year, which claimed human victims, and because of attempts—sometimes successful—to intimidate, threaten, and put pressure on honest television editors. The case of Mr. Vartan Arachelian, who was suspended from his position as a repressive measure, is a clear and telling example of the totalitarian tendency promoted by the communist nomenklatura, who are holding key positions in television. Completely serving the executive power, thus betraying the interests of our country's citizens, Romanian Television now even harms the tasks of the supreme power in the state—the Parliament.

AZR believes that—in our future democratic state—Romanian Television should neither be subordinated to the government nor to the Parliament, and even more so not to the president. The only solution for ensuring impartial and full information of the millions of citizens in our country is by placing Romanian Television under the direct control of society. It is absolutely necessary to immediately establish a largely represented management council whose composition should be established by the non-party organizations existing in Romania. We also want to draw the attention of the government and the country's president to the fact that the time has come for television—the same way this is happening in the nongovernmental written press—to win complete freedom. Given the fact that, as is known—from a technical viewpoint, until the new independent television "Continental" is set up—a broad-based management council is operating incorporating noteworthy figures of society, AZR proposes that this council immediately and provisionally take over the leadership of Romanian Television.

AZR is in solidarity with the Television Free Trade Union and supports its president, Mr. Dumitru Iuga who, as is known, has started a hunger strike because of the above considerations. Mr. Dumitru Iuga's attempt is a gesture of rare generosity to thus avoid a strike in television which—causing the interruption of transmissions—would harm millions of televiewers. We hope

that now, in the 11th hour, the Romanian Television management will understand that the only realistic solution is to tender its resignation.
AZR Steering Committee

* 'Destabilizing' Actions of CADA Scored

91BA0130B Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 24 Nov 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Army and the State of Law"]

[Text] The communique of the Ministry of National Defense [MND] states: Recently, several officers belonging to the former Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA], ignoring the decisions of the Romanian government and the Higher Military Council of the Army and MND orders, have intensified their destabilizing activities by publishing denigrating material about the Army and its leadership and launching appeals designed to create confusion among the Army regarding developments in the Army after the victory of the Revolution, to foster distrust in commanding officers, and to undermine the ability of the military institution to fulfill its missions in defense of legal order. Individually or as a group, these officers spread disinformation both among army personnel and among public opinion concerning the situation of the military apparatus and incited to insubordination.

Such destabilizing actions have intensified in the past few weeks; we are referring to the meeting held at the Group for Social Dialogue on 11 November, which was attended by 12 officers former members of CADA, the "Protest" published in ROMANIA LIBERA of 18 November, and the "Declaration" published in the 22 November issue of the same newspaper.

At the meeting, which was attended by representatives of certain parties and apolitical groups and Romanian and foreign journalists, unfounded and malicious accusations were leveled at the military leadership and denigrating statements were made about the government and the institution of the presidency. The request of certain civilian participants that the officers should "move from words to deeds" was not rejected by the latter in so many words. It has become evident that some members of the former CADA are periodically intensifying their actions in correlation with those of forces intent on initiating undermocratic actions apt to endanger legal order in the country. To their credit, military cadres have not responded to the persistent appeals issued by the organizers of the meeting in the press, too.

The "Protest" verified the aggressive, ultimative, and unacceptable nature of the positions adopted by the members of the former CADA and their interference in matters that cannot be resolved viably, thereby violating the functional principles of the Army. Although they took the new oath adopted by Parliament and solemnly pledged to respect it, now they are denying it and challenging the principles of the state of law. Similarly, they demand the establishment of associations of military cadres with prerogatives that are not accepted in other Western armies either because they can void the principle of unity of command, thus jeopardizing the combat capability of the Army. They continue to speculate on various confusions and mistakes that occurred after the revolution for the obvious purpose of creating dissent in the Army, although they know that measures have been taken that have already brought about extensive positive changes in the Army. What they refuse to acknowledge is the tolerance showed them so far in the hope that they will return to a reasonable behavior not apt to play in the hands of those who hope to divide the country.

The most recent "declaration," too, was issued in CADA's name, although the overwhelming majority of the members of that committee withdrew many months ago as they realized that while correct principles were invoked, the end goal was to place the army at the service of destabilizing domestic forces.

Although the Army leadership repeatedly spoke out for and consistently acted to ensure appropriate conditions for the Army to fulfill its specific missions and to ensure legal order in the country, not in favor of any political forces but demanding that the principles of political democracy be observed so as not to destroy the present process of renovation, the "declaration" put forth denigrating statements about the army being blackmailed and patronized by the political power, statements intended to mislead the population about the Army's position and to confuse and intimidate military personnel. This game has not had and will not have any chance of success; in recent months military cadres have increasingly been requesting that the officers in question be retired for patently violating military rules. The lack of military honor of the authors of the "declaration," whom ROMANIA LIBERA did not name, was also revealed by the blackmail they attempted by asserting that if those who were retired were not reinstated, "CADA feels obligated to bring to the attention of the country's leadership and the public concrete evidence of misdeeds committeed by those whose removal was requested." Which means that they were willing to continue concealing important information only in order to save their position. So how can they dare claim that the generals named in the "declaration" "sacrified major Army interests" for their own protection? The truth is that those generals, like the overwhelming majority of military personnel, firmly uphold the positions devolving from the principles of a state of law in the conviction that if street violence were to be accepted, the country would sink into chaos, something that would have tragical consequences for the Romanian people and jeopardize the territorial integrity of the state.

Just like the devotion they showed for the people in December 1989, Army personnel reject the dishonorable assertions of this small group of officers who have also betrayed their antinational position by the attitude they adopted toward the appeal of the Army of Transylvania.

The Romanian Army is united, it observes the principle of neutrality vis-a-vis the political parties, and firmly requests that the latter not attempt to intimidate and confuse it.

In view of the blatant incompatibility between the military status and the positions adopted by a few officers whose actions place them outside the healthy institution of the Army; analyzing their actions to date; and taking into consideration the decisions of the Army Higher Military Council of 11 June 1990 and 13 November 1990, their superiors (commanding officers) recommended that they be retired from active duty. The MND approved the recommendation.

Prime Minister Receives Moldovan Counterpart

AU0712180390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1705 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/12/1990—Mircea Druc, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, arrived in Romania on Thursday [6 December] evening after a tour of European countries. On Friday [7 December], he met with Romanian Premier Petre Roman.

During the interview problems were approached related to the cooperation between this country and the Republic of Moldova, including the creation of an institutionalized framework to attract private enterprisers in the exchange of commodities and in economic cooperation, in line with the two sides' potentials.

At the end of their talks, Mr. Mircea Druc told the Romanian press:

I stopped over in Romania and this is first time I have ever been in this country. There were times when I feared I would die without seeing my country.

I came here from Italy where, together with the minister of the economy and the minister of resources, we negotiated with Italian businessmen.

I had the pleasure to note your hospitality and I met Prime Minister Petre Roman, whom I knew from letters, interviews and everything that was in the press. I am very happy we could meet in person and discuss things in which I have always been interested, that is economic issues. I hope the two Romanian states Romania and Republic of Moldova will develop an ever more productive cooperation in the economic area.

In his turn, Mr. Petre Roman said:

I met Prime Minister Mircea Druc and I was very pleased with our meeting. He is a true personality. He is a man who loves his country and who tries to build something solid for it, a country that is so close to us.

We thought things over together and we hope we will be able to implement—in a relatively short period—a number of economic cooperation ventures, which are of great interest to both sides and which may become primordial factors in the development and stregthening of their economies, which is important as a state is powerful when it has a powerful economy. Everything that is complementary between the Republic of Moldova and this country, everything that can be instrumented through the agency of the Republic of Moldova represent to us highly important openings, to which we give priority.

Prime Minister Druc's visit is welcomed even if it is a short visit. Now, we must pave the way for enterprisers and managers, who are called upon to fulfil the projects we tackled.

Dissolved Counties on Solidarity With Moldova

AU1112091290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0909 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—The National League of the Abusively Dissolved Counties of Romania adopted an adhesion addressed to the president of the Moldovan Republic, Ioan Mircea Snegur, which showed that it followed with tension and worry the evolution of the events created by a part of the minority population in Southern Bessarabia and Transdniester region who had unilaterally, illegally and anti constitutionally decided the creation of the self-called "Gagauz" and "Transdniester" Republics.

We also condemn, like the whole Romanian people, the separatist movements conducted by "internationalists" in Tiraspol, tendentious disinformation and insults for the Romanian population which are against the democratization of political, social and economic life in the Moldovan Republic, endangering territorial integrity of the republic the adhesion underscores and we express our attachment and solidarity with your policy, with the whole people's fight for Moldova's national unity.

Human Rights Conference Ends, Adopts Resolution

AU1012205390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2001 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—The participants in the international conference of non-governmental bodies that safeguard human rights in the countries signatory to the Helsinki Final Act, held in Bucharest over December 8-10, adopted a resolution on the creation of an international coordinating committee of non-governmental bodies, that would operate according to the basic principles of the United Nations and Amnesty International. The resolution underlines that non-governmental bodies of various countries will inform the council of the cases of human rights infringement that they cannot solve by themselves. The council will decide on the opportunity of acting in concert, and if affirmative, will ask all its members to write protests and make the public opinion in every country sensitive to such cases.

As the resolution shows, the scope of the coordinating council would include the European countries in general, and the East European ones in particular, where the cases of human rights infringement are more frequent. This kind of activity would suppose a close cooperation with Amnesty International with the Federation of the Helsinki Committees, with other international bodies and with UN bodies.

Participants Hold News Conference

AU1012211490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2030 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—Preceded by Ian Martenson's and Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar's messages on human rights day, the international conference of non-governmental organizations (NGO) for human rights took place in Bucharest over December 8-10,1990.

In today's session, the last, the items on the agenda were proposals for the creation of an International Coordinating Council of the NGO for Human Rights, and the adoption of a final resolution of the conference, followed by a press conference.

Following various propositions, the composition of the coordinating council was unanimously adopted. Also, after some debate as to its phrasing, which was somewhat contested by Mr. Yuriy Kolosov, representative of the USSR Committee for European Security and Cooperation in Europe, the final resolution was adopted with three minor modifications.

The conference also adopted a communique comprising 13 items, regarding the intentions of the Romanian League for the Defense of Human Rights.

A more heated debate was provoked during the press conference, by the question of an editor from daily "ADEVARUL," who asked if the strike of the Drivers' Trade Union (which includes the public transports drivers), did not impress the conference as a limitation of the right to free circulation and of the right to work. Several speakers rose to reply, and all expressed basically the same stand that "we cannot let thousands of people live in a deplorable economic state, just for the reason that some people will not get bread today and that we have to use our own cars today for transportation. (...) It would have been well if it hadn't come to strike, but when the solution to a number of problems keeps being postponed from day to day, strike becomes the only solution."

At the end of the first part of the press conference, addresses were made by the ambassadors of Sweden, the United States, the Soviet Union, Turkey and Hungary.

The ambassadors congratulated the organizers of this first international conference of NGO for human rights and all the member organizations who defend human rights at this conference.

The tenure of the addresses was that "democracy cannot be enforced from the above, it must have support from the ground," that "human rights are never secure and there is no end, no ideal status," as the Swedish ambassador, Mr. Nils Rosenberg, said; another dominant idea was that (quoting Mr. Alan Green Jr., United States ambassador) "physical and ideological barriers which divided post-war Europe have been removed and the Charter of Paris signed just last month. (....) However, we must resist the notion that our work is now finished. Tragically, in some countries violations of fundamental standard human rights continue."

Nastase Meets Greek Foreign Minister in Athens

AU1012215990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2059 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—The talks between Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and his Greek counterpart, Andonios Samaras, held in Athens Monday, December 10, in the morning, were centered on the analysis of the current stage of bilateral relations and their future evolution.

The idea was underlined of boosting political contacts at all levels.

An important place was held by the economic issues, including the ones concerning the assistance Greece can grant to Romania in this difficult period of passage to the market economy. The collocutors also approached aspects of the development of cultural relations, of relations in the field of education, interchange of students in particular.

The visit of Romania's foreign minister also included interviews at the Ministry of Transport and Communications and the Ministry of Trade.

On both occasions stress was laid on concrete projects of economic assistance and the conclusion of trade and production cooperation agreements.

First Official Serbian Election Results Announced

AU1012130290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Kosta Krajincanic report on session of the Republican Electoral Commission in Belgrade]

[Text] Zoran Djumic, representative of the republican Electoral Commission, has given the first official results on elections in five constituencies. Here are some details:

Constituency 28, Obrenovac: 21,384 people voted; Slobodan Milosevic received 14,318 votes, Vuk Draskovic 5,032, Seselj 439, and Ivan Djuric 122.

Constituency 33, New Belgrade: 23,618 citizens voted; Slobodan Milosevic received 14,830 votes, Vuk Draskovic 4,746, Ivan Djuric 1,478, and Vojislav Seselj 588.

Constituency 173, Backa Palanka: 26,173 citizens voted; Slobodan Milosevic received 17,923 votes, Vuk Draskovic 4,230, Ivan Djuric 1,385, and Vojislav Seselj 408.

Constituency 27, Obrenovac: 20,744 citizens voted; Slobodan Milosevic received 13,902 votes, Vuk Draskovic 4,416, Ivan Djuric 356, and Vojislav Seselj 578.

Constituency 199, Zrenjanin: 19,147 citizens voted; Slobodan Milosevic received 12,861 votes, Vuk Draskovic 2,767, Ivan Djuric 1,250, and Seselj 298 votes.

Here are some details on the elections for people's deputies in the same constituencies:

Constituency 28, Obrenovac: 21,384 people voted; the candidate for the Socialist Party of Serbia passed in the first round after receiving 11,382 votes, candidate for the Serbian Renewal Movement received 3,984 votes.

In Constituency 27 in Obrenovac, elections will have to have a second round because the candidate for the Socialist Party of Serbia received 8,886 votes and the candidate for the Serbian Renewal Movement 3,482 votes.

We also have information for Constituency 199 in Zrenjanin: 19,160 citizens voted; the candidate for the Socialist Party of Serbia received 10,643 votes and passed in the first round. The candidate for the Democratic Party received 2,455, and the candidate for the Serbian Renewal Movement received 2,343 votes.

The Electoral Commission has been working nonstop. Most processed information is expected to be given this evening. The final results of the elections for the president of the republic will be given tomorrow evening.

As concerns remarks about violations of the electoral law and of the final suspension of campaigning, they are sent to constituencies and explanations of each individual case are expected to be received from them.

It was also said that the turnout, except for Kosovo, was about 80 percent.

Milosevic, Socialists Leading Returns

AU1012144190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] The republican Electoral Commission of the Serbian Assembly has verified the results of five constituencies. In all of them Slobodan Milosevic won over one half of the votes for the president of the Republic. According to the reports of our correspondents, Slobodan Milosevic also won in dozens of other places.

Out of the total of the 250 deputy seats, the Socialist Party of Serbia won about 80 seats. The Socialist Party of Serbia is followed by the Serbian Renewal Movement, and the Democratic Party.

Milosevic Wins in 5 Constituencies

LD1012123490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—According to the first official results, Slobodan Milosevic has won a majority of votes in five constituencies whose reports have already been compiled by the republican Electoral Commission. He has won the vote of 66.47 percent of the voters who turned out to vote; 19.2 percent voted for Vuk Draskovic, and 4.38 percent for Ivan Djuric.

At today's press conference the republican Electoral Commision representative, Zoran Djumic, announced figures regarding the constituencies of Obrenovac 27 and 28, Novi Beograd 33, Zrenjanin 199, and Backa Palanka 173. [passage omitted]

Preliminary Results in Kosovo Polje Noted

LD1012111290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Pristina, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The deputy to the republican Assembly of Constituency No. 230, covering Kosovo Polje, Obilic, and some parts of the municipalities of Vucitrn and Pristina, will be Zivorad Igic, a candidate of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije—SPS]. This constituency is one of the four in Kosovo and Metohija where, according to the first results, the elections were successful in spite of being boycotted by Albanians.

Out of a total of 24,656 citizens entitled to vote 13,760 turned out to vote. About 10,000 of them voted for Zivorad Igic while the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO] candidate, Milan Vasic, has won about 3,000. Ljubomir Vujovic, an independent candidate, has won the rest.

In the presidential election, Slobodan Milosevic has won most of the votes, about 11,000, in this constituency, as well.

Voting To Be Repeated in Most of Kovovo

LD1012151390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Summary] Pristina, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The provincial headquarters for monitoring elections says that yesterday's elections were by and large held in a democratic atmosphere as it refutes the opposition's remarks that its members were prevented from taking part in the work of the electoral commissions there. It claims that the commissions included some opposition members, too.

Due to the Albanians' boycott of the elections they will have to be repeated in most of the province's 34 constituencies. Nevertheless, in four constituencies, where the non-Albanian population is in the majority, the elections were successful.

Momcilo Trajkovic, the current vice-president of the Serbian Government, and Zivorad Igic, both SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], candidates, are in the lead in these constituencies.

Milosevic 'Convincingly' Wins in Kosovo

AU1012154990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] According to the members of the provincial Electoral Commission, the first multiparty elections in Kosovo and Metohija were held in a democratic atmosphere and in accordance with the law. Because of the boycott of Albanians, a simple majority was not secured in many constituencies and the elections will have to be repeated in those areas.

According to the still unofficial information, out of the candidates for the president of Serbia in Kosovo and Metohija, Slobodan Milosevic has received the convincingly highest number of votes.

In the Pec commune, he received 9,339 votes, while his rivals, Sulejman Ugljanin and Vuk Draskovic received 2,096 and 921 votes respectively. In Klina, about 90 percent of the electorate voted for Milosevic. A similar situation occurred in Istok. In Srbica, for instance, Slobodan Milosevic received 808 votes, Vuk Draskovic 13, Vojislav Seselj four votes, and Sulejman Ugljanin only one vote.

The electorate in Kosovo primarily voted for the candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia. Momcilo Trajkovic, who received about 80 percent of vote in Lipljan, parts of Kosovo Polje, and Pristina; Zivorad Igic, whose constituency includes Kosovo Polje, Vucitrn, and parts of Pristina; and Redzep Hodza from the commune of Dragas, secured their deputy seats in the Serbian Assembly in the first round of elections.

According to the still unconfirmed information, a place in the Serbian Assembly was also secured by Zoran Sokolovic, in Leposavic, and Djordje Bozovic, in Zubin Potok.

Opposition Holds News Conference

AU1012193690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Excerpt] At a news conference organized by representatives of the main opposition parties it was stated that the candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia won over 50 percent majority in some 80 constituencies and thus directly entered the parliament. [Words indistinct] there will be a second round of voting in the same number of constituencies. Along with Socialists there will also be 60 candidates of the Serbian Renewal Movement and 20 candidates of the Democratic Party. The results of other constituencies are not known yet.

Nebojsa Spajic reports from the news conference:

[Spajic] The leaders of the Democratic Party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Serbia, the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, and the People's Peasant's Party, did not consider these results—which were arrived at on the basis of the reports of the opposition parties' representatives from different constituencies—as too big a surprise although, as they said, they did not expect them.

Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party, said that the results are such because of everything that preceded the elections and added that a democratic front against the political idea which, in his view, does not have a future, is nevertheless being created.

Cooperation among the opposition in the second round of voting was also announced by leaders of other opposition parties: Vuk Draskovic, Nebojsa Popov, Ivan Djuric, and Dragan Veselinov. They think that although the Socialists lead most often in those constituencies in which there will be a second round of voting, the opposition has the advantage because the sum of the results of the representatives of the opposition parties is greater than any individual result of the candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia. What is left to be done is to agree on the forms of cooperation.

According to the representatives of opposition parties, the success of the Socialists could be ascribed to the media campaign and fear which, as everybody said, made the electorate opt for a status quo. [passage omitted]

Milosevic Wins in 160 Constituencies

AU1012215790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Nebojsa Spajic report on Serbian Electoral Commission news conference, announcing elections results in 23 constituencies, in Belgrade—live]

[Excerpt] Slobodan Milosevic is convincingly leading the list of candidates for the president of Serbia in 22 constituencies. Somebody else is leading in only one constituency, Senta and Ada. This is Ivan Djuric. Since Milosevic is leading in 16 constituencies for which the results have already been announced, one can already

talk about Slobodan Milosevic's great chance of being re-elected president of Serbia for the next five years.

This view coincides with the unofficial results which were presented by the representatives of opposition parties at their news conference. According to their estimates, Slobodan Milosevic's victory is certain in about 160 constituencies.

The latest information confirms the continuation of the earlier trend concerning the election of people's deputies. In the abovementioned 23 constituencies, the candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia either lead or have directly entered the parliament. Only in one case is a candidate of another party currently leading. This is the Democratic Party. So far there is only one opposition candidate who has already won a parliament seat. This is a candidate of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians.

In those constituencies in which voting will be repeated, the candidates of the Serbian Renewal Movement are mostly in second place. They are followed by the candidates of the Democratic Party.

Similar information of the opposition also confirms this trend. According to the opposition, 80 candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia have already obtained the right to enter the parliament. Voting will be repeated in 80 constituencies. [passage omitted]

Milosevic Receives 60-70 Percent

AU1012123690 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Alfred Schwarz report]

[Text] The results of yesterday's elections in Serbia have just become known. Unofficial reports that circulated at the Election Commission this morning have been confirmed. Slobodan Milosevic, the leader of the Communists, received 60-70 percent of the votes in yesterday's presidential elections. This is certainly an overwhelming success. Vuk Draskovic from the Serbian Renewal Movement has probably received 20-30 percent of the vote. As far as elections to the Serbian parliament are concerned, the situation is more complicated. A candidate must receive over 50 percent of the vote in his constituency in the first round. According to initial results, the communists seem to be successful here as well. However, their success is not as large as that of Milosevic. The communist candidates have probably received an average of 40-60 percent, which means that it is very uncertain whether the communists will win the absolute majority in the first round. In the second round, during a run-off election between communist candidates and candidates of the opposition, the opposition will unite against the communists. This may lead to a different outcome.

Austrian Observer on Possible Serb Election Fraud

AU1012134190 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Elections were held in two Yugoslav republics yesterday, in the largest, Serbia, and in the smallest, Montenegro. [passage omitted] The opposition is in agreement that elections were rigged in many cases, and that irregularities occurred. Thus, there were allegedly no proper electoral registers in many polling stations. Certain persons were allowed to vote without producing an identity card, and in many cases voters were directly intimidated.

A representative of the National Radical Party stated at a news conference given by the opposition yesterday that the elections were characterized by irregularities. An international commission also observed the elections. It included Carinthian SPOe [Socialist Party of Austria] Deputy Herbert Haupt.

[Begin recording] [Schwarz] The opposition speaks of election rigging and election fraud. Did you notice anything like that?

[Haupt] It is conceivable that manipulations were carried out in connection with the possibility of absentee voting for persons who were prevented from voting on election day because of their work or ecause they were doing military service. The handling of the absentee voting was carried out in a rather informal way. I believe that the fears of the opposition are quite justified. In the polling stations that we visited, the opposition members represented in the electoral commissions stated that about two-three percent of the vote were affected in the individual polling stations. Thus, one can proceed from the premise that the electoral fraud will not essentially distort elections, but that the one candidate or the other will be elected because of the majority situation that has been achieved through the fraud.

[Schwarz] Summing things up, can one say that this was a democratic election, and that the government that will be formed as a result will be a democratically legitimized government?

[Haupt] One can indeed speak of a democratic legitimization of the elected candidates. However, these first democratic elections were characterized by certain teething troubles. [end recording]

The opposition has in many cases filed complaints with the main Electoral Commission because of manipulation and irregularities. It is not clear yet whether it will contest the whole election. This will probably also depend on the final result.

Slovenia's Peterle on Independence, Serb Vote

AU1112084690 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Interview with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle by Georg Dox in Vienna on 10 December—recorded; Peterle statements in Slovene with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Announcer] The Slovene prime minister is in Vienna today as a guest of honor of the Concordia press club. In an interview, he commented on the consequences of the communist victory in Serbia for Slovenia.

[Begin recording] [Peterle] I am convinced that Milosevic's victory will not affect Slovenia very much. These political forces always wanted the split and are only really important within Serbia.

[Dox] That is to say, this might accelerate independence aspirations?

[Peterle] In a way, yes. However, Slovenia has resolved a concrete timetable for its independence and it will stick to it.

[Dox] You will ask the Slovenes on 23 December whether Slovenia is to become an independent state in the future. Supposing the majority is in favor of it, are you able to fulfill this political mandate?

[Peterle] If the Slovenes agree on a sovereign state, we will take concrete steps for our separation from Yugoslavia. This will take place step by step within six months.

[Dox] Do you think that these six months will be enough?

[Peterle] They should be enough. After six months, the new Slovene constitution is to be adopted.

[Dox] The federal Army placed the militias in Slovenia on the highest stage of alert. Can the Army prevent Slovenia's secession?

[Peterle] The Army cannot prevent this development. If the Army were to try this, we would take resolute action against it.

[Dox] How did you warn the Army against taking any steps against Slovenia?

[Peterle] We clearly said that we will not give away the weapons for territorial defense. We will not permit forced recruitment. We are prepared to react to violence with violence. [end recording]

Links Plebiscite, Independence

LD1112063090 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0311 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Vienna, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The day when the results of the plebiscite will be announced will not mean Slovenia's immediate secession from Yugoslavia, premier of this Yugoslav republic Lojze Peterle said here Monday [11 December] evening.

Speaking on the subject of "Slovenia Before the Plebiscite" at a banquet in the old Viennese club of journalists Concordia, where he was a guest of honour, Peterle said that the plebiscite was expected only to give the Slovenian Government a mandate to realize within a period of six months Slovenia's concrete separation from Yugoslavia.

"The mandate also offers a possibility of negotiations with the other republics about continuing to live together in Yugoslavia," the Slovenian premier said. In this context he added that Slovenia has no territorial claims, nor would the new status of the republic lead to changes in its borders either internally or externally.

He assessed a confederation between Slovenia and another Yugoslav republic, Croatia, as probable, and its joining by a third, Bosnia-Hercegovina, as possible.

In a reference to the conditions in Serbia, in the light of the first postwar multiparty elections there, Peterle said he did not expect anything good in the development of that republic, or rather that everything in it would remain as it is.

Among other things, Peterle said that he did not rule out the possibility of an army coup in Yugoslavia.

Details on Slovene Sovereignty Plebiscite Announced

LD1012221290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1928 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—All citizens of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia who are of age will be able to vote in the plebiscite on an autonomous and independent state of Slovenia to be held on December 23, as the republican Election Commission decided today.

Not just Slovenes, but also members of other Yugoslav nations who permanently reside in Slovenia will be able to vote in the plebiscite.

Of the Slovenes who live abroad, only those who have Yugoslav passports will be entitled to vote where they had last resided in Slovenia.

No voting will be possible outside Slovenia's frontiers.

Croat Defense Minister Denies Mobilization Report

AU1012161890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] General Martin Spegelj, minister of national defense in the Croatian Government, stated that, we quote: All alleged information about the mobilization of the Territorial Defense Forces in Croatia is incorrect and untrue. The mobilization has neither been carried out nor is planned.

Croatian Commission Calls for Bicameral Assembly

LD1012183690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1706 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Commission of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today called for the introduction of a bicameral republican legislature and the limitation of the powers of the president of the Republic.

At a session held today, the Constitutional Commission revised the original text of the draft of a new Croatian constitution, which the republican Assembly is to adopt on December 27.

Under the revised draft, the Croatian parliament would have a Chamber of Citizens and a Chamber of Countries. The new chamber, the Chamber of Counties, would represent regional interests and would have the power of suspensive veto in matter of a revision of the constitution and other laws whose passage requires a two-thirds majority in parliament.

In keeping with the proposal, constitutional experts urge that Croatia be territorially divided into eight countries.

Under the revised draft constitution, the president of Croatia would be stripped only of the right to propose the judges of regular courts and the Constitutional Court. He would, however, retain broad powers, be the supreme commander of the Armed Forces of Croatia and would have the right to dissolve parliament and appoint and dissolve the republican government.

The opposition has sharply criticized the proposed broad presidential powers. President of the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia Dr Antun Vujic today said that, contrary to the popular demands for Croatia to be constituted as a sovereign, parliamentary and democratic state the parliament is given a secondary role under the draft constitution.

The Constitutional Commission recommended that the preamble of the constitution contain a formulation dissociating Croatia from the so-called independent state of Croatia, the Ustasha Nazi-puppet state during World War II, and a formulation recognizing the decisions of the Croatian wartime parliament Zavnoh and the subsequent constitutions as the basis of Croatia's statehood.

Communists Unofficially Lead Montenegrin Elections

AU1012151790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Excerpt] There are still not even unofficial results of the elections that were held in Montenegro yesterday, at least as far as the Electoral Commission is concerned. However, everything seems to be already known by the public—the League of Communists of Montenegro appears to have secured a convincing victory. Mirjana Trajkovic has the details:

[Trajkovic] Although this may sound incredible, the republican Electoral Commission stated that it has not received any, even unofficial results from the communal electoral commissions. Even if it had received them, the commission stated at two tumultuous news conferences, it would not have announced them because it has decided to deal only with official results. The communal electoral commissions are obliged to wait until 1500 [1400 GMT] for the votes cast by soldiers. This completely new piece of information was announced to the surprised and somewhat fed-up journalists by Radojko Djuricanin, president of the republican Electoral Commission. Moreover, the Electoral Commission has dissociated itself from all unofficial data that has already appeared in the Montenegrin press.

These incomplete results, which were obtained through private channels via communal electoral commissions, sound like this: In 16 out of the 20 Montengrin communes, the communists have a great majority. It appears that the Alliance of Reform Forces has won in Bar in Plav, and that they are followed by the communists, while the Albanian Muslim Democratic Coalition won Ulcinj and Rozaj.

Judging by everything, Momir Bulatovic is leading the presidential elections.

According to these, I repeat, unofficial results, the League of Communists of Montenegro has won about 70 percent of the votes. [passage omitted]

Win 4 of 5 Seats in Kotor

LD1012155290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Summary] Kotor, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—In the elections for deputies in the republican Assembly, in the municipality of Kotor [Montenegro], the communists have secured four out of the five seats, with the Alliance of Reform Forces [Sevez Reformskih Snaga—SRS] taking the other seat. The communists [Montenegrin League of Communists] won 62 percent of the votes cast. In the elections for president of Montenegro, Montenegrin League of Communists candidates also won the most votes.

Preelection Montengrin News Conference Reported

AU0812192090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Jagos Stojanovic report on regular Montenegrin Electoral Commission news conference in Titograd on 8 December—recorded]

[Text] All communal services have not submitted election materials in time, so additional measures are being taken. Therefore, the danger exists of some polling stations in Titograd not being open tomorrow morning in time.

There is also the chance that the elections may be boycotted in a small number of communities. The reason for this is disagreement with the composition of the voting committees. This, among other things, was told to journalists this evening by Veselin Pavicevic, spokesman for the republican Electoral Commission.

For example, [words indistinct] the POBJEDA editorial office has not respected the period of the so-called blackout in today's edition of the newspaper and violated the rules in three articles. Pavicevic replied that the honor of the Montenegrin people does not depend on POBJEDA.

Journalists were told that snowfalls will hinder the course of the elections in Montenegro, particularly in the

northern part of the republic where there is a large number of the 920 polling stations with a total of 380,000 voters.

Unofficial Results in Macedonian Elections Noted

LD1012184590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Skopje, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—After the third round of voting in the multiparty elections in Macedonia, according to unofficial data, candidates of VMRO-DPMNE [VMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] have won the biggest number of votes for deputies to the republican Assembly. VMRO-DPMNE has 37 deputies; the League of Communists, which entered the last round of voting in a coalition with the Alliance of Reform Forces, now has 30 deputies. The Party for Democratic Prosperity (single-nation party of ethnic Albanians) has 24 deputies, and Reformists [Alliance of Reform Forces] have 18 deputies.

The Socialist Party has won five seats in the parliament, while the Party of Yugoslavs has won one.

Two seats in the Macedonian parliament have been won by independent candidates. In Struga and Gevgelija, no party candidates won voters' confidence, and consequently "independent" candidates were elected. The republican Electoral Commission is still counting ballot papers for the remaining three deputies to the multiparty Macedonian parliament. Final results will be announced tomorrow afternoon.

Markovic on Slovene Plebiscite, Economic Program

LD0812091390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2312 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The question of whether next year will exist for Yugoslavia has no foundation because no one has as yet adopted a decision to secede from Yugoslavia. This was stressed this evening by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], taking part in the programme "Ask the FEC," prepared by Slovene Television.

Prime Minister Markovic explained that programs have been prepared which make it possible for the process of political changes to unfurl itself in a peaceful, democratic, and parliamentary way in the framework of the institutions of the system. Also underway are elections in the other republics, so, Markovic said, we will have multiparty assemblies in all the republics, which will be an expression of the new mood and of the destruction of the monopoly which has existed to this point.

In connection with the plebiscite in Slovenia, scheduled for 23 December, Markovic said that it will provide an answer. This does not mean that any definitive decision will be adopted. It is the right of each nation and of each republic to make its views known in a plebiscite on what it deems appropriate, Markovic added, stressing that he would rather have asked the question about whether people are for a free state, rather than whether if they favor secession.

Replying to a question on Veljko Kadijevic's interview, Markovic said that the Army is a big system with its own laws and inertia. He added that there are changes in evidence along the lines of modernization in our Army. The FEC this summer assessed that the depoliticisation of the Army is essential, Markovic said.

In connection with the FEC's economic program, Ante Markovic assessed that it is threatened most by breaches in the sector of pay and public spending. They amount to as much as $3 to 4 billion, but these funds do not now exist in production and development. The financial reorganisation of the banking system, which is a precondition for further development, will be at the center of the FEC's efforts next year in the economic sphere.

Reports of Italian Troops on Border Unconfirmed

LD1012230590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2124 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Rome, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Ministry circles in Rome today did not confirm statements about a "marked concentration" of Italian troops along the Italian-Yugoslav border.

The correspondent of the Rome daily LA REPUBBLICA from Belgrade has reported that the defence and interior ministers of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, Janez Jansa and Igor Bavcar, respectively, had informed the public of this.

Asked by TANJUG Rome correspondent to confirm or deny the statements, an Italian Foreign Ministry press department official described them as ridiculous.

LA REPUBBLICA's correspondent yesterday reported the statements as part of an extensive story on the overall tense situation in Yugoslavia, the elections in its biggest republic of Serbia and the relations between the Army leadership and Slovenian authorities.

Jansa and Bavcar placed the presence of six warships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Adriatic and the concentration of Italian troops along the border with Yugoslavia into the context of the general strained situation in Yugoslavia.

The Italian Defence Ministry declined to comment on the LA REPUBBLICA article when asked by the Yugoslav press correspondents in Rome.

The officer on duty this morning said he knew nothing, adding that the correspondents of Yugoslav dailies should ask for an official confirmation or denial.

The fact is that Jansa's and Bavcar's statements have not met with any response in other Italian papers, except in LA REPUBBLICA.